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# USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 2, Apr-May-Jun 1982



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# USSR REPORT

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 2, Apr-May-Jun 1982

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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TOWARD THE 19TH KOMSOMOL CONGRESS

BREZHNEV MEMOIRS

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[Review by Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU Al'bert Mikhaylovich Roganov of book "Vospominaniya" [Memoirs] by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982: "The Book Teaches, the Book Educates"]

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## SOCIOLOGY OF YOUTH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-June 82 pp 7-15

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Nikolay Mikhaylovich Blinov, deputy director of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee: "The Sociology of Youth: Achievements, Problems"]

[Text] Today youth themes have become one of the important directions of the development of the social sciences. The radical improvement of the labor, moral, ideological and political education of boys and girls and the accomplishment of the task set at the 26th CPSU Congress of the formation of "a generation of politically active people, who know their job, like labor and know how to work, who are always ready to defend their homeland" [1] are impossible without a sound scientific basis.

The sociology of youth under the conditions of mature socialism has entered a qualitatively new stage of its development. A considerable number of large-scale studies on the problems of Komsomol and youth of both a basic and an applied nature have been conducted during the last 20 years. Their methodological level and procedural backing have increased. The understanding of the object and subject of the sociology of youth became more well defined and sounder, the notions about the place and role of the young generation in the social structure of society and about the internal differentiation of young people were broadened substantially [2]. The role of sociological studies in the political educational work with the young people of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations increased.

The subject area of the studies being conducted is determined, on the one hand, by the sociodemographic peculiarities of youth as one of the large social groups and, on the other, by the specific nature of the sociological approach to the problems being studied. Bourgeois sociologists usually regard young people as some independent class. Marxist sociologists proceed on the basis that in the system of production or distributive relations, which stem from the existing organization of production and the social division of labor, they do not hold a special place. Upon entering independent life, the young generation is as if dispersed among the various classes and social groups of society.

What has been said does not at all imply the denial of the social peculiarities of young people, but their distinction as a social group is made according to different criteria than class-forming attributes. "The existence of common age, sociopsychological and physiological peculiarities, specific interests and needs" [3] serves as the basis here.

Of course, the debates concerning the more exact definition of the concept "youth" and its age boundaries are continuing among sociologists; the lack of categorical and terminological order has still not been completely overcome. In our opinion, youth are a large, internally differentiated social group which people 14 to 30 years of age form. The place and role of the young generation in the social structure of society and the study of the mechanisms of the effect of social laws and regularities in the milieu of young people are the subject of the sociology of youth.

Youth must not be regarded as some preparatory period for "real" life. Two interconnected processes characterize this stage: the acquisition of knowledge by the individual, his acquisition of social experience and "inclusion" in the system of social relations, in various types of activity and vital activity. Consequently, young people are not only the object of education, but also act as the subject of activity with specific interests, demands and needs. Thus, in the life of every person the period of youth plays an important independent role and has a unique value for him. At the same time this period is of great importance for the functioning and development of society as a whole. Let us remember: the succession of generations is the form in which historical progress is accomplished, and society is far from indifferent to what the social orientations, aspirations and nature of the vital activity of young people are.

During the building of socialism the social makeup of the rising generations also changes, their educational, cultural and technical level steadily increases, a new, socialist type of personality is formed. Along with other social achievements, socialism also brought interrelations between generations, which were qualitatively different than before, relations, which are free of class contradictions and antagonisms and are based on continuity and the community of goals and tasks. However, each new generation does not simply inherit the material and spiritual values which were created by the labor of its predecessors, but multiplies and develops them under specific conditions. Since there are problems which are specific to the given historical stage, the constant specification of the tasks of education and the adjustment of the directions and goals of the social activeness of boys and girls are required.

Summing up what has been said, let us examine the main questions which constitute the subject of the study of the sociology of youth. They can be broken down into two groups. Specifically youth problems belong to the first group: the essence of youth as a social group, their place and role in the social class structure; the criteria of the age boundaries, the demands, needs, interests and types of activity of the young generation; the socialization of boys and girls, their social and occupational orientations and adaptation in the collective, ideological and moral preparation for labor; the social aspects of the activity of Komsomol as a youth organization. The problems, which are general sociological problems and at the same time either concern primarily youth (questions of education, the family and marriage) or are reflected specifically in the milieu of young people (the peculiarities of the process of the communist education of youth, the effectiveness of its various forms, means and methods; the development of the social activeness of youth; the participation of youth in socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor; the formation and functioning of public opinion in various groups of young people, the influence on them of the processes of the scientific and technical revolution, urbanization, migration, the increase of the flows of information and so on), constitute the other area.



Scientists are devoting the greatest attention to the social character of the young generation, its interests, orientations and needs. The obtained results indisputably attest that noteworthy ideological and moral qualities--loyalty to the ideals of communism, devotion to the interests of socialist society, ever increasing social activeness--are characteristic of present-day Soviet youth. At the same time the studies being conducted characterize in depth the complex, dynamic processes taking place among young people, reveal the urgent problems, which are arising in the work with its individual groups and categories, and outline the means of solving them.

The sociological elaboration of the problems of the communist education of the rising generation is of particular urgency in light of the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the strengthening of the labor, moral and political education of youth. Comprehensive studies at the meeting point of sociology with other scientific disciplines: pedagogy, psychology, ethics, play the leading role here. To a significant extent it was precisely the practical needs of educational work that stimulated the emergence and rapid development of such marginal fields of knowledge as the sociology of training and education, pedagogical sociology and the sociology of law. Many important theoretical and methodological principles of Marxist social science: the essence and basic traits of the socialist way of life, the laws of the formation of the new man, the contradictions of the educational process under the conditions of mature socialism, the means of overcoming them and so on, found reflection in the conducted studies. The elaboration on the basis of a general typology of the socialist personality of the typological characteristics of the different categories of youth, their consciousness and behavior is also of great practical importance [4].

New approaches were used extensively, for example, in developing the program of the all-union ethical sociological study "Moral Orientations and the Formation of an Active Position of Young People in Life," which is being conducted by the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee, the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of History of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences. One of its basic goals is to establish the unity of the intellectual, emotional and volitional aspects of moral convictions and the role of the moral self-consciousness of young people in the settlement of conflicts of life and to construct on this basis a detailed typology of the moral and psychological qualities of the forming personality in the mature socialist society.

The best modern elaborations of the problems of the raising of children and adolescents in the family, the relations of the family and the school and the formation of the young family are characterized by a high scientific level and practical effectiveness. The most important contradictions of the young family were revealed by means of sociological studies. In particular, today about two-thirds of the men and women from 20 to 30 years old are single people. This is one of the displays of the tendency for the number of people of marriageable age, who do not have their own families, to increase (there are more than 70 such people per 1,000 people). The disproportions in the sex-age structure of the population of the labor-scarce regions is the main cause of the arisen situation. The contradictions between the expectations connected for young people with marriage and the reality of family life, between the present economic basis and vestiges of the

past in family and marital relations and so on have also been studied. Recommendations aimed at the strengthening of the family and the enhancement of its social role were prepared on the basis of the obtained data [5].

One of the most important areas of the sociological studies of youth is the formation of the moral and political culture of boys and girls. Interesting and practically important results were obtained during the all-union public opinion poll of young people and Komsomol members in connection with the 18th Komsomol Congress, which was conducted by staff members of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee, as well as the joint study of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School, which was conducted by way of preparation for the All-Union Applied Science Conference in Baku (1979) on questions of the moral education and the formation of an active position in life of the working people. The analysis of the results of the studies attest: the overwhelming majority of young people are clearly aware of the increased demands being made on the ideological and moral qualities of the individual under the conditions of mature socialism and are striving to work out an active position in life. This is the most important condition of its transformation into an integral component of everyday behavior, which is capable of performing a practical regulatory function. In this connection the responses to the question: "What do you understand by an active position in life?" are significant.

Some 76 percent of the boys and girls believe that an active position in life should be displayed in all spheres--labor, sociopolitical, spiritual and so on. As a young Chelyabinsk worker noted, to take an active position in life means "to have firm principles and views on all aspects of life and always to be guided by them." The majority of young people (57.1 percent) believe that such a position is first of all a conscious attitude toward social duty. The response of a Tallinn school-boy is characteristic: "to actively participate in the life of the class, the school, the country, to sense oneself to be a citizen of one's homeland and to be responsible for everything happening close by." Some 19.8 percent of the respondents stress that an active position in life should without fail include innovation, a resourceful and creative approach to the fulfillment of production assignments, public assignments and so on. The statement of a scientist from Estonia can serve as an illustration: "initiative, a creative attitude toward duties, the aspiration to achieve the maximum results in work, in public activity." In many cases an active position in life is connected with the detection of shortcomings and the factors causing them, with an uncompromising struggle for their elimination: "not only to criticize, but also to suggest, not only to suggest, but also to do something to implement one's suggestion" (a worker from Leningrad).

The study revealed a number of urgent, unsolved problems in the area of the cultivation and self-cultivation of an active position in life. Thus, more than 80 percent of the respondents are striving, in their words, to take an active, civic position in life. In accordance with the results of the sociopolitical certification of Komsomol members in reality it is characteristic of only 10-15 percent of the boys and girls. Quite a few young people did not understand, in what the essence, importance and need of an active position in life consist, and are not at all

setting for themselves the task of working out such a position. A consumer attitude toward life and the opposition of their own narrowly understood individual interest to the interests of the collective and society as a whole are characteristic of some young people. In practice this leads to the violation of production discipline, the norms of socialist community life and so on.

The profoundest meaning of all the work on the communist education of youth should consist in the formation and development of the morally justified needs of the individual. Komsomol is called upon to promote a position in life, which elevates a person, and the unity of word and deed as the norm of the daily life of young people.

An active position of young people in life is impossible today without a high level of political culture. The study conducted soon after the 18th Komsomol Congress by sociologists of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School jointly with the Komsomol organs of a number of oblasts of the Ukraine was devoted to its study. Of the 3,000 people surveyed more than one-third indicated that political culture should play an active, practically transforming role in the vital activity of the individual. According to the obtained responses, to be a politically cultured person means to be loyal to communist ideals, to implement the policy of the party, to take an active part in the life of the country. Young people grouped with the most important practical manifestations of political culture active participation in the public measures of the collective, the activity of the Komsomol organization, the performance of public assignments; the desire and ability to promote Marxist-Leninist ideas, to fight against bourgeois ideology.

A detailed characterization of the last aspect of political culture is given by young people in the responses to the question, how boys and girls are meeting the requirement advanced at the 18th Komsomol Congress--to be an active political fighter, who is capable in deed of implementing the policy of the party and of waging an irreconcilable struggle against hostile ideology. For this, the respondents believe, it is necessary to constantly increase the level of ideological and political training, to improve the ability to recognize bourgeois ideological diversions and to expose in a well-reasoned manner their class essence. Young people see in such work not simply a preliminary stage, but an indispensable condition of the skillful propagation of party policy.

The main conclusion of the conducted studies is that the majority of surveyed young people, first of all communists and Komsomol members, displayed a correct understanding of the questions connected with such a complex phenomenon as political culture. An integral portrait of the politically cultured young person is formed from the responses. He combines a thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and the essence of party policy with a high general culture, the capacity for the analysis and class evaluation of phenomena of social life with political conviction, the realization of his civil rights and duties with active and skillful sociopolitical work.

At the same time a number of gaps were also detected in the understanding by young people of the essence, structure and functions of political culture. Thus, a portion of the surveyed people reduce it merely to the sphere of consciousness and knowledge. Obviously during propaganda work it is necessary to place the emphasis on the inseparability of political culture and practical sociopolitical work. Often



political culture is viewed by young people only from the point of view of content. This, of course, is the main aspect, but it is also manifested in a specific cultural "context" and includes the universally important attributes of culture. It should be explained more extensively, what the culture of political thought and political activity is, that is, as one schoolboy wrote, what "the ability to express political ideas in cultural form" is.

The study of the social and occupational orientation, the problems of the labor and the attitude toward labor of young people occupies an important place among the sociological studies of youth in our country. The results being obtained here are being used extensively in the practice of social management [6].

Occupational orientations, being the most important component of social orientation, act as its specific manifestation in the sphere of labor. Therefore, the occupational interests, plans and aspirations of young people are determined by the social values which dominate in the individual and group consciousness. Sociological studies attest: the desire to work for the good of society and an attitude toward labor as the highest value, and not only as a necessary means of existence, are first of all characteristic of our young people. According to the materials of the all-union study "The Social Functions of Labor," which was conducted in 1976-1981 by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School, 50.1 percent of the 5,000 people surveyed expressed opinions which indicate the great social importance for them of labor activity. Moreover, among industrial workers this indicator comes to 60 percent, while for some categories of scientists it comes to 62 percent. Among agricultural workers and kolkhoz farmers it was respectively 38 and 41 percent. The cited data are close to the results obtained by Yu. Ye. Volkov, P. I. Kosolapov, I. M. Slepenev, V. A. Yadov and other researchers.

The understanding by workers of the social importance of their labor is inseparable from their understanding of the goal and meaning of their own life. During the study the respondents were given the question: "By what ultimate goals, apart from the possibility of meeting your needs, are you guided when participating in socially useful labor?" In all 71.4 percent of those surveyed responded that they work in the name of the strengthening of the socialist system and the building of communism, while they link the achievement of these lofty ideals with prosperity in their own life and with the creation of the bases of a happy future of their children.

The need for interesting, meaningful labor is one of the leading factors attracting boys and girls to labor, which permeates the entire motivational structure of the attitude toward work. However, the studies established: among an overwhelming number of young workers the degree of comprehension of the social utility and importance of labor leads the degree of satisfaction with their job. Today the bulk of working young people are engaged in skilled labor which is connected with the service of equipment. At the same time the proportion of comparatively low skilled, including physically difficult types of jobs for the present is still high in the national economy. But even in meaningful operations the proportion of truly creative elements is usually small. The increase of the satisfaction with work and the improvement of the attitude of young people toward labor presume not only the increase of its creative content on the basis of the introduction of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, but also the cultivation among young people of a conscious need for labor.

Along with the analysis of the common social characteristics of young people many studies have been devoted to their individual detachments and categories.

In the study of working young people sociologists have focused the main attention on the solution of the problem of providing the national economy with manpower resources by means of the formation of a worthy reinforcement of the working class and on the search for the laws and the means of the formation of the production worker of the new type.

The data of state statistics and the results of sociological studies make it possible to draw the conclusion: the young generation of workers is becoming more and more homogeneous with respect to its socioeconomic attributes. This stems, first, from the convergence of the sources of the reinforcement of the working class and, second, from the equalization of the level of education and skills of different groups of young people, the increase of the overall culture and the broadening of the outlook of boys and girls. A complete secondary education and high production skills have become typical traits of the social character of the young worker. The study of workers of the machine building industry, which was recently conducted in Leningrad, for example, attests to the close connection of these factors and their role in social and occupational advancement. The average age of skilled and unskilled workers was equal to 46.5 years, the average level of education--5.5 grades, while the average wage category was 3.1; while among workers of highly skilled labor, who are employed at machines and devices, the average age does not exceed 33 years, the level of education comes to 8.4 grades, while the average category is 3.4.

Great mobility and occupational mobility are a characteristic feature of the present young generation of the working class. The tendency for boys and girls to change occupation and place of work is connected with the aspiration to continue their education and with the determination of their place in life. According to the calculations of scientists the initial stage of formation and searching among young workers for the most part concludes by the age of 25; after this the indicators of the frequency of the change of occupation and place of work decrease sharply. Much here depends on the organization of work in accordance with the occupational and social orientation of young people. According to the data of studies, school children, as a rule, choose an occupation under the influence of parents, friends and relatives, the role of public organizations, enterprises themselves and institutions of vocational and technical education in this for the present is relatively small. And obviously it is not by chance that about half of the young workers in industry change occupation during the first 3-4 years of work.

Young people of the village are also attracting more and more often the attention of sociologists. Indeed, the studies conducted so far have covered far from all the spheres of their way of life. For the most part they dealt with the problems of the social structure, labor, migration, occupational orientation and the organization of free time. The questions of the ideological, political, moral, legal, physical and atheistic education of young people of the village, the peculiarities of marriage and the family under the conditions of rural areas and the specific nature of the activity of rural Komsomol have essentially been little studied. In elaborating certain problems or others only individual authors have approached in an individualized manner the different groups of young families. The socioeconomic problems of vocational training and the participation of young people of the

countryside in the implementation of the agrarian policy of the CPSU require a more thorough analysis.

One of the most urgent social problems of the present-day village is the mass migration of young people. At times its main cause is seen in the cultural and everyday differences between the city and the countryside. It is impossible, of course, to deny the importance of this circumstance. At the same time it is well known: many boys and girls, who come to work in the city from the village, initially find themselves under worse material and everyday conditions than before at home, in the countryside. However, broader prospects of vocational education and advancement are afforded to young people here than in the village. Consequently, the improvement of agricultural labor and the improvement of its conditions and organization are the most important factor of the attachment of young people to the countryside. In Moldavia, for example, during the period from 1971 to 1980 half as many young people went to the city from sovkhoz-plants than from kolkhozes.

According to the predictions of sociologists, as a result of the further increase of agricultural production and progressive changes in its structure substantial changes should occur in the character of kolkhoz youth and young workers of sovkhozes and agro-industrial associations. The level of education, culture and occupational skills of rural young people will rise, their proportion among the village intelligentsia will increase. All this should have a positive effect on the attachment of boys and girls to the village and the increase of their labor and sociopolitical activeness. In this connection important problems are arising in the area of the communist education of young people. Specific practical recommendations, which would promote the improvement of the content, forms and methods of work of rural Komsomol organizations under the conditions of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, are urgently needed.

Among the studies of different groups of young people a significant place belongs to the study of student youth. Without dwelling in detail on the interesting results obtained in this area [7], let us turn to one problem which is very pressing today. It is a question of the life plans of school children.

As the studies attest, the percentage of graduates of the eighth grade, who wish to obtain a secondary education at vocational and technical schools, has increased appreciably in recent years. In other words, the inclination of young people for working occupations has increased. Thus, according to the data of a survey of eighth grade students, which was conducted by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in a number of rayons of Western Siberia, the Central Urals, the Kuban' and the Estonian SSR and in Moscow and Moscow Oblast, 11 percent of the respondents intend to enroll in a secondary vocational and technical school, while in all 16 percent, that is, nearly 1 in 5, would like to receive a vocational and technical education. The study was conducted in 1973-1975. Comparing its materials with the results of the study of the life plans of school children of the middle of the 1960's, it is possible to say: a significant shift in the direction of working occupations has also occurred in the orientations of 10th grade students; whereas earlier the majority of them (80-90 percent) aspired after completing school to enter a higher educational institution, now only 46 percent of those surveyed expressed such an intention, while the remainder expressed the desire to enroll in a secondary specialized educational institution or a technical school [8].



The practical return of sociological studies of young people is increasing with each year. Their results are enriching and strengthening the scientific bases of the activity of Komsomol. Much attention was devoted at the 18th Komsomol Congress to questions of the sociological study of boys and girls. The materials of sociologists are also being actively used during the preparation for its 19th congress. All this cannot but stimulate the further development of sociological studies on Komsomol and youth problems.

The conducting of purposeful studies for the needs of Komsomol organs of different levels also attests to the strengthening of the tie of the sociology of youth with social practice. The Komsomol Central Committees of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Estonia, as well as the Chelyabinskaya, Zakarpatskaya and other oblast Komsomol committees, which in cooperation with scientists regularly conduct public opinion polls and applied concrete sociological studies, are working productively in this direction.

The sociologists of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee have prepared and issued standard methods of the study of the sociopolitical and labor activeness and the ideological and political level of youth. Procedural recommendations on the adoption of the comprehensive approach in the activity of Komsomol organizations have been elaborated with the assistance of scientists. The comprehensive goal program "The Formation of a Worthy Reinforcement of the Working Class and the Kolkhoz Peasantry," in a number of sections of which the materials of sociological studies found application, is being prepared for the 19th Komsomol Congress.

As we see, much has been done in the area of the sociology of youth. However, a number of important problems await their scientific substantiation and practical recommendations. Thus, the poor elaboration of some key theoretical and methodological problems of the way of life, the individual and the formation of needs under the conditions of mature socialist society is checking the further study of the sociopsychological peculiarities, spiritual makeup, needs and orientations of modern youth. The complex mechanism of the social formation of the young generation, its assimilation of past experience and the adaptation of boys and girls in the labor collective and informal groups has not been completely revealed. All this is decreasing the practical effectiveness of applied elaborations on questions of education. The oversights in counterpropaganda work and the organization of the political training of young people can be explained precisely by the lack of significant results in the area of the study of the political consciousness of youth and by the gap between theoretical and applied research.

An important direction of the improvement of the studies of the problems of youth is the increase of their actuality, expeditiousness and, one could say, topicality. For the present the study of the moral consciousness and value orientations of youth, their political culture; the new forms of the organization of the free time of boys and girls; the participation of Komsomol in the management of social processes in the assimilation and development of new economic and geographic regions lags behind the needs of practice. The mechanism of the adoption of the recommendations elaborated by sociologists in the practice of administration and management also requires substantial improvement.

In the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" it is noted: the main weakness of education and propaganda consisted so far in the fact that they did not always conform to the increased educational and cultural level and the demands of the working people and inadequately took into account the dynamic nature of the socioeconomic processes and spiritual life of contemporary Soviet society. Today, as never before, it is important to know the trends and prospects of the development of the way of life and the spiritual character of young people and to be able to identify in good time those new social factors which influence to the greatest extent the consciousness and behavior of young people.

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## YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE ZONE OF THE BAYKAL-AMUR RAILWAY LINE

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[Article by Viktor Vasil'yevich Voronov, responsible organizer of the Working Youth Department of the Komsomol Central Committee, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Igor' Pavlovich Smirnov: "The Attachment of Young People to the Zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line"]

[Text] The construction of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the economic development of the large territories adjacent to it are a matter of a statewide scale. And here much depends on the provision of the region with manpower and the creation of a stable structure of the population. Today it is practically impossible to solve the problem by means of natural growth. The main thing is to attract manpower from other regions of the country and to attach people here for a lengthy period.

The majority of the present construction workers of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line are young people up to the age of 30. Therefore, the task consists not only in the adaptation of the newcomers, but also in the formation of the personality of the "new Siberian," who would firmly link his aspirations in life with the long-range plans of the development of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line.

In 1981 the Komsomol Central Committee jointly with scientists of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and the Main Administration for Construction of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line conducted a sociological study in the regions of construction of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line.<sup>1</sup> Its main goals were: the study of the factors of the attachment of young people at the construction site and in the zone of development of the

1. In all 14 settlements typical of each region, which differ in climatic conditions, the period of existence and the degree of development, were selected throughout the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. The sample was a quota sample. About 2,000 construction workers of all occupations were surveyed by means of "The Questionnaire of the Construction Worker of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line," while 359 production managers and workers of soviet, party, Komsomol and public organizations were surveyed by means of "The Questionnaire of the Expert." The program and tools of the study were developed by Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. V. Belkin and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences F. E. Sheregi with the participation of the authors. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. M. Blinov supervised the conducting of the field study.

Baykal-Amur Railway Line, the elaboration of suggestions and recommendations on the improvement of the control of migratory flows, on the improvement of the working and living conditions of young construction workers, the activity of Komsomol organizations. Let us examine the results of the survey.

The Reasons Young People Come to the Construction Site of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. According to the obtained data, the leading place belongs to patriotic and moral psychological reasons. Here are the most typical answers of the respondents: the desire to participate in the development of Siberia--34.0 percent; the need to improve one's material situation--31.5 percent; the desire to test oneself under difficult conditions--30.4 percent; the aspiration to purchase a motor vehicle--28.3 percent; the importance of the construction project for the country--22.6 percent; family circumstances--19.1 percent; the desire to earn money for the purchase of a cooperative apartment--12.5 percent; the example of comrades, friends--10.0 percent. Thus, nearly two-thirds of those surveyed in coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line acted first of all in accordance with moral and patriotic reasons. Let us add to this that the study did not reveal substantial differences in the reasons of young people who were representatives of various regions and republics of the country. At the same time let us stress: patriotic reasons predominate among CPSU members; among Komsomol members--the youngest portion of the construction workers--the moral psychological orientation ("to test oneself") comes to the forefront, among nonparty people--the material orientation.

In all 63.7 percent of the respondents came to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line by way of Komsomol travel authorizations, 36.3 percent came independently, as a result of assignment after graduation from an educational institution or a transfer from other enterprises and construction projects. For the present this is a favorable ratio, which the data of the survey of experts also confirm: 50.7 percent of the experts consider arrival precisely by way of a Komsomol travel authorization to be most effective from the point of view of the attachment of young people to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and only 16.4 percent consider local hiring to be most effective.

For the most part young people without families (58.1 percent) are coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. Among people of older ages this indicator is 32.8 percent. In all 31.0 percent of the respondents came with their spouses and children; 10.9 percent came as members of families or with other relatives.

The obtaining of information on various aspects of labor, daily life and living conditions at the construction project usually precedes the decision of young people to go to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. The reliability of this information in many ways promotes rapid adaptation at the new place and the formation in a person of a good moral and psychological state. Some 19.6 percent of those surveyed received information from workers of Komsomol committees, for 15.2 percent the representatives of organizations of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line were the main source of information, for 8.6 percent--the mass media (the press, radio, television), for the majority (51.1 percent)--relatives, friends and acquaintances. After coming to the construction project the conformity of the formed notions to the real state of affairs was rated in the following manner (percent of respondents in the group):



| Notions about conditions of: | Did not change | Changed for the better | Changed for the worse |
|------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| labor. . . . .               | 37.9           | 23.9                   | 38.2                  |
| daily life . . .             | 31.9           | 23.6                   | 44.5                  |
| relaxation . . .             | 32.4           | 20.4                   | 47.2                  |

The cited data attest: a well-considered system of measures on informing young people about the prospects of the industrial and cultural development of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, the organization of labor and daily life, the opportunities for studies and the increase of occupational skills is necessary. The institutions engaged in public recruitment should organize the effective dissemination of such information. At the same time it is inadmissible on the part of the representatives of "Baykal-Amur Railway Line" organizations to give broad promises which are not backed by real possibilities. Frequently it is not the difficulties of construction, but the disenchantment with the promises, which were given by those who persuaded them to go to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, that is the cause of the turnover of young people.

The information on the participation of the residents of different regions and republics of the country in the construction of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is of great interest. With the exception of Belorussia, Moldavia and the Ukraine mainly Russians come to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line from the remaining republics and regions. The proportion of the representatives of the national minorities of the USSR is relatively large, they are coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line primarily from the Urals and the republics of Central Asia. The proportion of the representatives of the indigenous nationalities of the republics of the northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia, the Baltic republics, Moldavia and a number of republics of Central Asia is small. One person in five who comes to the construction project is a resident of rural areas; city dwellers for the most part come from the Urals, Kazakhstan and the Baltic republics. Differences also exist among regions in the form of the attraction of young people to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. The proportion of those coming "spontaneously" from the regions of Siberia, the Far East, the Urals and especially Central Asia is large; Moldavia and the Baltic republics send their representatives, as a rule, as members of shock detachments.

The data of the study attest that people who have a sense of great moral responsibility form the main body of the young people being attached to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. What has been said by no means belittles the role of material stimuli, working conditions and climatic factors. However, in our opinion, those specialists, who link the problem of the attachment of personnel only with this, are not correct. Thus, according to self-appraisals, for 93.7 percent of the respondents the climate of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is not an obstacle to successful work. It acts as an important negative factor usually for the representatives of the peoples and nationalities of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Moldavians. At the same time the bulk of those not wishing to remain in the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line for a long period are people who came for purely material reasons, and people, whose main intention is to buy a motor vehicle, predominate among them.

Obviously in the process of attracting manpower to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line the primary orientation toward the granting of preferences to people in the obtaining of scarce goods cannot be recognized as an adequately effective means either



economically or socially. As a result the principle of distribution according to labor is violated, the appearance of the stability of manpower is created, the attention of the administration is diverted from the creation of favorable working and living conditions of the construction workers. Among young people consumerist sentiments are being stimulated (which the majority of construction workers indicate), the ground for various speculations and machinations appears, harm is done to the patriotic spirit of initiatives at the shock construction project.

To ascribe to young construction workers the aspiration to have a motor vehicle or scarce items as priority needs means to interpret in an extremely oversimplified manner the system of stimuli which are the basis for the vital activity of the individual. As a rule, the individual will not experience a dominant need for scarce items until his vital needs are met. No one most likely will begin to think about imported furniture and rugs, while he is living in a "hut," and especially about a motor vehicle, while the family has not been settled. The results of the study suggest the idea that among young people the "need" for a motor vehicle in many ways is formed artificially, already after coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. The management of the construction project should give serious thought to what the psychology and orientations in life of the young reinforcement of workers of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line should be.

Satisfaction With Labor as a Factor of the Development of the Creative Activeness and the Attachment of Young People to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. Only 25 percent of those coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line have the occupation of construction worker. The majority of boys and girls are representatives of "nonconstruction" specialties and first of all services. In all 38.2 percent of the respondents changed their occupation after coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, and 38.0 percent improved their skills, while 60.2 percent began to perform a less skilled job than before. Some 82.3 percent of the carpenters and woodworkers, 77.4 percent of the track installers and representatives of railroad occupations, 66.2 percent of the drivers, 63.7 percent of the plasterers, painters and facers, 56.9 percent of the tractor, bulldozer and crane operators, 50.0 percent of the fitters, electricians, installers and welders, 44.9 percent of the masons and concrete workers, 21.2 percent of the specialists with a higher education and 23.6 percent of the workers of the service sphere are continuing to work in their specialty.

At the same time even after the acquisition of a new occupation nearly a third of those surveyed expressed the desire to transfer to a different job, including 23.7 percent of the men and 37.5 percent of the women. The latter, as a rule, work in lower paid jobs and not in the specialties which they acquired before coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line.

The aspiration to change occupation in many ways depends on the content of labor, as well as the size of the monthly wage (percent of respondents in the group):

|                                       | <u>150<br/>rubles</u>    | <u>to 200<br/>rubles</u> | <u>to 250<br/>rubles</u> | <u>to 300<br/>rubles</u>   | <u>to 350<br/>rubles</u> |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Wish to change<br>occupation. . .     | 49.5                     | 38.2                     | 35.9                     | 26.8                       | 23.9                     |
|                                       | <u>to 400<br/>rubles</u> | <u>to 450<br/>rubles</u> | <u>to 500<br/>rubles</u> | <u>over 500<br/>rubles</u> |                          |
| Wish to change<br>occupation. . . . . | 18.5                     | 17.5                     | 8.6                      | 8.9                        |                          |

In all 10.1 percent of the drivers, 30.3 percent of the painters and plasterers, 41.2 percent of the masons and concrete workers, 34.2 percent of the carpenters and woodworkers, 23.8 percent of the fitters, mechanics, installers and electricians, 15.4 percent of the tractor, crane and bulldozer operators, 27.5 percent of the track installers, 26.5 percent of the specialists with a higher education and 32.1 percent of the workers of the service sphere want to transfer to a different job.

Although the average monthly wage of young construction workers (301 rubles) is less than that of people of older ages (322 rubles), nevertheless the average monthly income per family member for young workers is higher (153 rubles) as compared with the workers of older generations (136 rubles). As a whole 36.7 percent of the young workers are satisfied with the wages, while 38.5 percent are not satisfied. In all 53.2 percent of the young construction workers and 65.0 percent of the respondents of older ages believe that during the time of work at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line their material situation has improved; it worsened for 5.9 percent (among the generation of older construction workers--for 4.2 percent).

The study showed that the forms of the material and moral stimulation of labor at the construction project need improvement. In all 30.5 percent of those surveyed approved of the system of moral incentives, 27.3 percent assessed it critically; as for the measures of material stimulation, these indicators are equal respectively to 24.3 and 35.6 percent.

The number of respondents not satisfied with working conditions at the construction project is quite high--44.6 percent (30.9 percent are satisfied), as is the number of those not satisfied with its organization--50.4 percent (21.8 percent are satisfied). As one of the main conditions of permanent residence in the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line 38.9 percent of those surveyed named the good organization of labor.

About two-thirds of the respondents are satisfied with the microclimate in the labor collectives. This is a significant fact, if you take into account that the improvement of the organization of labor is closely connected with the cultivation among young workers of a practical attitude toward public property and the ability to use the available resources sensibly. The Komsomol-youth collectives and the movement "I Am the Master of the Construction Project" are playing an important role in the solution of this problem.

The Komsomol-youth brigades to a significant extent are conducive to the formation of stable labor collectives. In the opinion of 67.4 percent of the experts, such a method of work is more effective than conventional methods. Among the Komsomol-youth collectives 51 percent have been changed over to the brigade contract. However, serious difficulties are being encountered in their work. For example, in 1980 one out of three agreements on the brigade contract was canceled through the fault of the administration. Differences exist between the official number of contracting brigades and their real number.

A number of shortcomings have also been revealed in the organization of the movement "I Am the Master of the Construction Project." It is aimed at the increase of labor productivity, the economical use of material resources, the protection of the natural resources of the zone and the building of settlements with all the proper amenities on the route. There are numerous examples of the effectiveness of this

initiative of the young people. At the same time the fact that less than half of the number of surveyed construction workers are participants in the movement, attracts attention. The main reason, in the opinion of the respondents, lies in the organization of the matter.

**Organization of the Daily Life and Leisure of Young Construction Workers.** After coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line 40.1 percent of the respondents formed their own family. These families, in spite of a number of everyday difficulties, as a rule, are stable: there are only 4.2 divorces per 100 concluded marriages. In 87.6 percent of the families the couples live together, in 48 percent of the families the husband and wife work. Of the total number of nonworking women 68.8 percent named as the main reason for their nonemployment in production the impossibility of getting a place for their child in a kindergarten.

In all 45.7 percent of the respondents are not satisfied with their housing conditions; 69.2 percent--the supply of foodstuffs; 45.5 percent--the supply of children's foodstuffs; 56.6 percent--the supply of industrial goods; 49.7 percent--the operation of public dining enterprises; 52.7 percent--the operation of children's institutions; 58.2 percent--transportation service; 27.1 percent--medical service.

The forms of leisure activities of the respondents are diverse: the reading of fiction (79.6 percent), newspapers and journals (77.7 percent), the watching of television programs (74.1 percent), going to movie theaters (73.4 percent), listening to tape recordings (68.8 percent) and the radio (60.8 percent), visiting (73.9 percent), the playing of table games (34.6 percent). At the same time only 29.3 percent of those surveyed expressed satisfaction with the conditions of the spending of leisure time, while 43.5 percent are completely dissatisfied. In all 41.9 percent of the respondents are not satisfied with the operation of clubs. This, apparently, explains the fact that only 8.6 percent of the young construction workers take part in it. Critical appraisals of the operation of movie theaters (47.0 percent) and libraries (27.0 percent) are encountered quite frequently.

As a whole the organization of leisure time at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line for the present lags behind the demands of the young people, the multinational composition and level of education of the construction workers are being taken inadequately into account. Thus, the poor stocking of libraries with literature in the languages of the peoples of the USSR is causing some dissatisfaction and is impoverishing the content of the leisure of some categories of respondents. It is impossible to say that the young people are not striving for the interesting spending of free time. The fact that 21.7 percent of the respondents would like to take part in the work of a club, but do not have opportunities for this, or 21.1 percent want to participate in amateur artistic activity and 27.6 percent want to engage in sports, attests to the untapped reserves in the organization of leisure.

**The Reasons Young Construction Workers Leave the Baykal-Amur Railway Line.** The problem of the formation of a stable population should be examined from two points of view: the attachment of young people to the construction project as such and the orientation toward permanent residence in the zone of development of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line. The improvement of housing and living conditions in both cases acts as the decisive factor in the opinion of both the construction workers themselves and the experts.

According to the obtained data, only 7.5 percent of the respondents intend to live and work at the construction project just during the term of the labor contract; 31.6 percent have not yet decided what they will do after the end of the term of the contract; 24.2 percent of those surveyed propose to work until the completion of the construction of the railway line, 36.7 percent find it difficult to give a definite answer. No significant differences are observed on these items among boys and girls, as well as by age groups of young people. Considerable deviations from the average values are characteristic only of individual national groups.

What are the prospects of the attachment of young construction workers to the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line for permanent residence? Only 13.4 percent of the respondents expressed such a desire, 34.7 percent responded negatively to the corresponding question. The number of "vacillators" is the largest (51.9 percent). The interested organs must perform intensive work with precisely this group. Let us note, moreover, another important circumstance: the proportion of people, who intend to remain to live in the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, is different for the representatives of individual regions of the country (see the table).

Migratory Aims of Representatives of Different Regions of the Country, Percent

| Intend   | People from |                 |                 |       |                        |         |            |          |                  |                            |            |              |
|--|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|------------------------|---------|------------|----------|------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
|  | Far East    | Eastern Siberia | Western Siberia | Urals | European part of RSFSR | Ukraine | Belorussia | Moldavia | Baltic republics | Caucasus and Transcaucasia | Kazakhstan | Central Asia |
| To remain to live in zone of Baykal-Amur Railway Line. . . . . | 45.6        | 60.1            | 35.2            | 19.3  | 21.7                   | 16.1    | 16.3       | 19.3     | 14.3             | 16.7                       | 25.0       | 12.2         |
| To leave the construction project. . . . .                     | 54.4        | 39.9            | 64.8            | 80.7  | 78.3                   | 83.9    | 83.7       | 80.7     | 85.7             | 83.3                       | 75.0       | 87.8         |

The detailed analysis of the responses of those surveyed according to other attributes makes it possible to draw the following conclusions: 1) among those who previously did not live in regions of Siberia and the Far East, the number of those intending to leave the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is 7.2-fold greater than among those who previously lived in these places; 2) the people from rural areas remain more often than city dwellers; 3) a stable orientation toward long-term residence is most characteristic of the construction workers who came in the hope of obtaining an apartment; the proportion of those wishing to remain among them is threefold greater than the proportion of those who intend to leave; 4) there are 3.9-fold more potential migrants among the people, who came to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line "for a motor vehicle," and 2.9-fold more among the people, who are working here for the purpose of improving their material situation, than there are among the young people who came for moral and patriotic reasons; 5) the proportion of those intending to remain for a long period increases with a increase of the length of service at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line; 6) those who married before coming to the Baykal-Amur Railway Line express the intention to



leave 2.7-fold more often than those who became spouses at the construction project; 7) other things being equal, the receipt of precise information on the prospects of the industrial development and assimilation of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, including the given specific settlement, significantly decreases the likelihood of leaving.

As a whole the results of the study completely confirmed the hypothesis that young construction workers, who have worked at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line for 3-5 years, successfully adapt here and can make up the nucleus of the future population of the zone of development of the railway line. This process should, in our opinion, include two main stages: 1) the provision of the conditions for the work of young people at the construction project for not the 3 "contract," but 5 or more years; 2) the attachment of adapted personnel for a long period.

The main means of solving this problem is the creation of a developed social and everyday infrastructure in the regions of new industrial development. In particular, the elaboration and quickest possible introduction of urban development standards and plans, which would take thoroughly into account the demographic structure of the population of the new cities and the natural and climatic conditions of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway line, and the location here of enterprises of light industry are needed. The latter are called upon to ensure the employment of the female contingent of the youth construction project. It is also desirable to make more specific the dates of the receipt of housing by young people and to introduce the practice of concluding an agreement which guarantees over a specific period the improvement of housing conditions.

Not simply the attraction of young people to the construction project, but their attachment for a long period should become the strategic goal of the implementation of these recommendations. This is the key to the successful development of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line.

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## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

### SOCIOECOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 22-31

[Article by Academician Vladimir Yevgen'yevich Sokolov, director of the Institute of the Evolutionary Morphology and Ecology of Animals of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet Committee for the UNESCO Program "Man and the Biosphere," and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Oleg Nikolayevich Yanitskiy, chief of the Group of Socioecological Problems of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Urgent Directions of Socioecological Research"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

### CONTACT AS A FACTOR OF PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 31-41

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Lyudmila Panteleyevna Buyeva, deputy director of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Valentina Gennadiyevna Alekseyeva, senior research associate of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Contact as a Factor of Personal Development"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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TOWARD THE 10TH WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE 12TH CONGRESS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

SOCIOLOGY OF POLITICS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 42-51

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Yuriy Yevgen'yevich Volkov, director of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee: "The Sociology of Politics as a Branch of Sociological Science"]

[Text] Problems of politics were always at the center of attention of Marxist social science. Today, under the conditions of mature socialism, it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the task of analyzing even more thoroughly the phenomena of the political life of society is arising [5, p 78]. This also pertains to sociological science. However, within it the area of political practice, as compared with other aspects of social life, for the present is not being studied actively enough (especially on the basis of empirical data).

The broadening and extension of research, including applied research, presume the detailed elaboration of the appropriate sociological theory of the "intermediate" level and are an important condition of the formation of this branch of science as a whole. But before specifying the group of questions studied by the sociology of politics and revealing the specific nature of precisely the sociological approach to them, let us briefly touch upon the solution of these problems by bourgeois social science.

In modern bourgeois sociology the sociology of politics or political relations<sup>1</sup> is one of the main trends. But the concepts being developed within it either are abstract schemes and constructs, which do not correspond to reality,<sup>2</sup> or glide (in the spirit of positivism) over the surface of phenomena, without giving them a complete and thorough theoretical explanation. It is true that bourgeois empirical sociology, which is based, in particular, on a neopositivist methodology, obtains at times significant information on the activity of individual political institutions, group political interests, specific manifestations of the political consciousness and behavior of the masses and so on (primarily in connection with election campaigns). However, the group of phenomena studied by it is narrow, while the most important thing is that the theoretical interpretation of data is of a limited and spurious nature.

Unlike bourgeois sociology, Marxist-Leninist sociology provides researchers with the necessary theoretical and methodological premises for the more and more

complete and thorough knowledge of the essence of political processes--on both the theoretical and the empirical levels. In this connection let us turn to the original ideas of Marxism on the essence of political phenomena and to the present notions of the subject and specific nature of sociological science.

Politics is the area of the relations between classes, and those relations which form with respect to state power, the gaining, holding and use of it. The most essential thing in politics, V. I. Lenin indicated, is "the system of state power" [2]; politics "is participation in the affairs of the state, the direction of the state, the determination of the forms, tasks, content of the activity of the state" [3]. The interests of different classes, interests which originate from their economic status and place in the social structure of society, find expression in politics. The struggle for the seizure of state power is also waged precisely for the sake of guaranteeing the latter. Any social phenomenon, Marxism-Leninism teaches, acquires a political nature, if it directly or indirectly affects the interests of certain classes or others and the problem of power [1].

Taking these underlying principles as a basis, it is possible to distinguish the following basic aspects and elements of the political sphere of social life. First of all there is /state power/ [in boldface], which is the concentrated expression of the will and interests of the class which is in power in the given society. The existence of power gives rise to an entire system of institutions, special social institutions (the organs of state power and government, armed forces, judicial and other state organs), which perform various functions of power. Moreover, some non-state organizations, which are connected in one way or another with the functioning of state political power, are grouped with such institutions. It is a matter of political parties, various sociopolitical organizations, which either direct the activity of state organs in conformity with the interests of specific classes and social groups and participate in accordance with the will of state power in the performance of individual functions or, on the contrary, wage a struggle for its limitation and seizure or oppose power. Of course, their activity is not always entirely political, only individual aspects and elements can be grouped with such activity.

The nature of the activity of the mentioned social institutions and organizations is determined by their class nature and by the socioeconomic essence of the given society. For example, the struggle for power in the class antagonistic formation sets certain tasks for the different political parties and the public organizations which are associated with them, and the functions, for example, of the Communist and Workers Parties under socialism set completely different ones. Here they express the interests of the friendly classes and strata and direct in the appropriate manner state power and the activity of the political and public organizations which participate in its exercise.

The political sphere of the life of society includes social relations of a special type--/political/ [in boldface] relations. Being superstructural by their nature, these relations function first of all as relations between classes, other social groups, nations and nationalities and are relations of conflict or cooperation. Political relations form, moreover, between power itself (in its institutional legalization) and the various classes of society, as well as between power and citizens. In the latter case the interaction is mediated by the class affiliation of the individual. The power either protects the rights and interests of all

citizens or a portion of them (and the group of corresponding rights and interests is determined by the specific circumstances) or restricts and suppresses the realization of the rights and interests; in turn the citizens either give support to the power or else fight against it or show passive resistance.

The sphere of political life also encompasses a version of social activity--/**political activity/** [in boldface]. It includes the activity of power itself, that is, a specific policy which the state, the ruling powers of one country or another implement. This is the first thing. Second, the elements of the political activity of social communities (classes, strata, groups, nations, nationalities) are grouped here. The point of such activity consists in guaranteeing by means of state power its own interests (both within the country and on the international arena). Its types can be most diverse: the struggle for power (revolutionary or, on the contrary, "protective" activity), the formation of the organs of state power by means of elections and the determination of the program of their activity, participation in this very activity and the control of it--in short, all the manifestations of mass political actions and the political activeness of individuals. The nature of such actions and the direction of the activity of the masses are governed by the nature of the social system and specific sociopolitical factors.

Third, the activity of people is always organized in conformity with some perception of reality or another, by consciously formed goals and ideals. Consequently, the objective processes of political life are inseparably connected with specific structures of social consciousness--/**political ideology and psychology/** [in boldface], with the elements of political consciousness in public opinion and with the political culture of people. In spite of the fact that they are components of the spiritual sphere of social life, in philosophical and sociological literature they are also correctly assigned to the political life of society.

Thus, the political sphere encompasses a system of a special type of social /**relations/** [in boldface] and social /**institutions/** [in boldface] (in the process of their real functioning), the display of social /**activity/** [in boldface], the activeness of the masses and the /**political consciousness/** [in boldface] of people. In the structure of society this area appears as a "cross section," which directly follows the social structure, and is its immediate continuation. In their unity the set of indicated components forms a complex which in the literature has received the name of the political system of society; its essence and basic traits are determined by the nature of the specific social system and of the social structure of society and, in the end, by the economic basis.

The political system is the object of study of various sciences. Its most general laws of development and its relations with the economic basis, the social structure and spiritual life function as the subject of philosophical analysis and are studied by historical materialism. In the system of Marxist social science it is, as is known, a general sociological theory. The detailed examination of the political system from one point of view or another is the task of more specific sciences, primarily the theory of scientific communism (with reference to the processes of the emergence of the communist formation) and constitutional legal (juridical) science, as well as a task of sociology.

Of course, much in both the subject and the methods of study of these sciences is inevitably common. It is impossible not to agree with the opinion of A. G.

Kharchev: "the further science is developed and the more intensively the 'meeting points' of individual scientific disciplines are evolved, the more often there arises the situation, when their subjects do not come into contact, do not border on each other, but to one extent or another come up against each other, when the same problems, but from different points of view, are studied by scientists of different specialties" [9, pp 63-64]. At the same time, each of the sciences has its own specific nature. Thus, the institutional standard approach is characteristic of the juridical and constitutional law disciplines. Here the main attention is directed to the structure of political institutions and the interrelations between them, to the legal norms, which regulate their activity, determine their competence and functions and regulate the rights and duties of citizens, and to the organizational and legal forms of the implementation of political activity.

On the basis of the notions about the subject and structure of sociology, which dominate in Soviet scientific literature [9], its role in the study of political phenomena can be characterized in the following manner. The analysis of political life within the framework of historical materialism is the highest level of theoretical sociological (more precisely, philosophical sociological) generalization. If we take sociology in a more "narrow" sense (when it is a question of a specific detailed study of social communities, their vital activity and the relations between them [Ibid., p 64]), here the task consists in the study of, first, the political aspects of the vital activity of social groups, strata and so on, second, the social institutions created by them and, third, the mass behavior of the individuals included in such communities (which at times is forgotten without basis when defining the subject of sociology). In other words, we see the task of sociology in the specific examination of /the content of politics and the political activity/ [in boldface] of the different social groups of a specific society, in the study of the nature of their /political interests and the corresponding political relations, the content of the activity of political institutions/ [in boldface] and in the study of /political movements, the political behavior and consciousness of the masses/<sup>3</sup> [in boldface].

The most diverse methods, including those which are used in other sciences, can be used and are being used in the sociological study of political phenomena and processes. The theoretical analysis of obvious facts, which concern the political activity of various social groups and institutions, the development of political movements and the political behavior of the masses, is of the greatest importance for the study of political life on the macrolevel. An important role in this case belongs to comparative historical analysis. Examples of such an analysis, namely: the characterization of the class essence of a specific state, the struggle of classes and social groups, the development of political movements, the activity of political parties, the role of individual political leaders and so on, are contained in the works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin and documents of the international communist movement.

In the study of political phenomena the classics of Marxism-Leninism utilized, to say nothing about the extensive use of statistical materials, purely empirical methods. It is possible cite the following example. In 1913-1914 V. I. Lenin analyzed the quantitative data on the monetary assets received by the fund of PRAVDA from workers and through the Duma faction of the Bolsheviks. Having compared the results with the materials on the monetary collections for the benefit of the organs of the press of the Menshevik liquidator school, he drew the conclusion (of



course, with allowance also made for other data) that the overwhelming portion of the working people were following the Bolsheviks or, in the words of Lenin, the best workers "are fighting for Marxism against the supporters of a nonparty system" [4]. Thus, data of a financial nature, which were properly analyzed, gave important information on the political interests and sentiments of the people and on the development of political processes during the period of the new revolutionary upsurge in Russia.

At present such empirical methods as the analysis of statistics (the number and social composition of the participants in various sociopolitical organizations and movements, election results and others), surveys, interviews, the analysis of documents, fixed observation and others are being used for the study of political phenomena and processes. It is necessary to introduce more extensively in research practice other methods, particularly the theory of games, which is being used successfully by foreign sociologists in the analysis of the process of making political decisions. The use of means of the formalization of data with subsequent mathematical processing would substantially increase the effectiveness of such traditional methods as observation and the analysis of documents. It is also expedient to study the activity of political institutions by the method of structural-functional analysis. We will return to its features below.

Marxist-Leninist sociology is called upon to study the enumerated problems of political life in various social systems. Of course, considerable difficulties, which are connected with the empirical study of the corresponding phenomena and processes, arise here with respect to capitalist society. But, first, it is possible to subject to a secondary analysis the vast empirical material which has been accumulated by foreign sociologists (for example, the data of public opinion polls on political problems, the materials concerning the career of political figures, leaders, the content of sociopolitical, national and racial relations and so on). Second, the study of many political phenomena and processes of capitalist society does not require the mandatory use of empirical methods.

The main attention of the Marxist sociology of politics is directed, of course, toward the political phenomena and processes in socialist society. Relying on the practical experience of the research being conducted in the USSR and other socialist countries and on the basis of the "internal logic" of sociological knowledge, as well as the content and structure of this sphere of social life, it is possible to distinguish the following basic trends of the study of political phenomena and processes in socialist society within the framework of sociological science.

In as much as all political activity originates from the objective need of social communities to guarantee their interests, it is necessary to begin the study of political life with the study of the /interests/ (**in boldface**) of the classes and social groups which exist in socialist society and of those of the nations and nationalities which exist in the multinational state. Such an analysis should also cover the problems of the reflection of the interests in the activity of the institutions of state power and in the political relations between social communities.

The historical experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries shows that precisely the careful analysis and the guarantee by the state of the interests of all groups and strata of the working people, the different nations and nationalities are the most important source of the strengthening of the socialist



system. Under the conditions of mature socialism these problems are acquiring particular urgency. "The obliteration of interclass differences," it was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is raising, of course, new tasks for social policy. It is being focused more and more... on the solution of problems which require the most attentive consideration of the peculiarities and interests of each group of our society" [5, p 54].

Considerable experience in studying the specific interests of the various groups of our society and categories of the population and in elaborating on this basis recommendations for the practice of state government has already been gained by Soviet sociological science [10]. The broadening of such research and the increase of the scientific level and soundness of recommendations are also necessary for the purpose of a more thorough knowledge of the entire system of political relations of socialist society and their transformation in conformity with the ideals of communism. Public opinion polls should also serve this to an ever increasing extent.

The analysis of the /content of the policy/ [in boldface] of the party and state, the /processes/ [in boldface] of its /formulation/ [in boldface] and /implementation/ [in boldface] under specific conditions is another major trend of research.

As is known, the CPSU and the Soviet state in conformity with the interests of all the people and with the goals of the building of communism determine and direct the development of all spheres of social life--economic, social, political, spiritual. The sociological study of the content of politics includes the study of the process of solving certain political problems or others, their correlation with objective social needs and social interests and the elucidation of the social changes which occur in this connection. The works of V. I. Lenin of the early 1920's can serve as an example of such an analysis, which is of permanent methodological importance. Summarizing the policy of "war communism," he revealed the objective needs for the transition to the New Economic Policy, specified its tasks, and then the achieved results. The congresses of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the other socialist countries are giving us the same valuable experience.

The study of the content of politics makes it possible to identify the interrelationship between its main tasks at a specific moment, the dynamics of the development of a political policy (if the tasks pertaining to the different stages of social development are compared) and the changes in social life during the implementation of this policy. The comparative analysis of the politics of the socialist countries makes it possible to reveal both its common traits, which stem from the essence of the socialist system, and the specific nature which is dictated by the socioeconomic features of one country or another.

The /mechanism of the formulation of the policy/ [in boldface] of the party and the state is also a subject of both theoretical and applied sociological research. These questions have not yet found proper reflection in Soviet sociological science. As Academician A. G. Yegorov correctly indicated, one of the basic tasks here is "to study the very mechanism of the consideration of the interests of classes and various strata of society and to promote its further improvement" [11].

The analysis of the process and the results of the implementation of one political course or another is also an important direction of the sociology of politics. It includes first of all the comparison of the advanced problems with the results of

their solution. For this it is possible to use the materials of statistics, systematized observations and, finally, the data of sociological studies. In the last case information on the changes in working and living conditions, the increase of the well-being and culture of the masses and so on should be enlisted more extensively. Although such data do not have a direct bearing on the sphere of politics, their scientific interpretation from a specific point of view makes it possible to judge the results of the fulfillment of certain political tasks or others. In a number of instances, if the quality of the implementation of measures, the satisfaction of people with the made changes and so forth must be evaluated, sociological studies act as an irreplaceable source of information. Of course, such data are of the greatest value for the analysis of political issues only when they are sufficiently representative and reflect large-scale phenomena and processes and not local problems.

All the units of the political system--party, state and public organizations--take part in the implementation of party policy. The analysis of their activity and, consequently, of /the institutional forms and methods of work/ [in boldface], is also a task of the sociology of politics, an extremely important task in the practical, applied sense. It is well known that at times effective decisions are not implemented due to bureaucracy and the inefficiency of the workers of some units of the political system or others. The applied research of the sociology of politics is called upon to promote the overcoming of such negative phenomena. Here the latter is interconnected with the sociology of government, since politics finds its practical embodiment in the process of government.

The study of the activity of the above-mentioned institutions is usually carried out only by the method of simple observation and the analysis of documents. By this, however, it is impossible either to achieve an adequate depth and comprehensiveness of the analysis or even to cover a large number of objects. In order to raise research to a higher level, it is expedient to use the survey, to shift to observations and the analysis of documents by means of formalized schemes and, finally, to introduce more extensively in practice the methods of structural-functional analysis. The essence of the latter consists in the fact that the activity of the institution being studied "is broken down" into components and their structure is compared with the tasks and functions of the institution. As a result, for as large a number of objects as one may wish it is possible to determine (even in quantitative form) what the goals are and to what extent they have been achieved, toward what more attention should be directed in implementing the political course of the party [12].

Among all the sociopolitical institutions a special role belongs to party organs, which are called upon to direct at all levels the activity of state and public organizations. However, they do not replace the latter, but carry out only their political supervision. In this connection the problem of the use of effective methods and forms of leadership, of which the CPSU Central Committee is showing examples, is urgent. The question, to what extent the methods and forms of the interaction of local party organs with state and public organizations conform to these examples, can also be a subject of sociological research. It is clear that competent specialists should conduct it. Experience of such research already exists [13, 14, 15].

The improvement of the forms and methods of party leadership is closely connected with such a set of problems of the development of the political system of our society as the consistent improvement of the Leninist style in the work of party organs and in the activity of other units of the political system [16]. Here it is also possible to make extensive use of the survey and fixed observation, several methods of structural-functional analysis, particularly the method of the "ideal model." It consists in the following: a systematized list of the elements (forms) of the optimum and most efficient activity of the institution of the type being studied (the system of management or the style of work) is at first drawn up on the basis of theoretical notions and the study of advanced know-how. Then the obtained verbal structure--"the ideal model"--is compared with the practice of management, which is also broken down into its components. This makes it possible for each of the directions and for their set to see the achievements and oversights. Recommendations for the improvement of the style of management are elaborated on the basis of such information.

The most important trait of the political system of socialist society is its genuine democratism, while the main direction of development is the constant /extension and broadening of democracy/ [in boldface]. These phenomena and processes are the main object of the research of the sociology of politics. Here, of course, it must not be forgotten: many aspects of the political system of Soviet society are being characterized during the study of the problems singled out above, since the main attention in one way or another is being directed toward the activity of political power as power which expresses the interests of the working people and all the people.

The fact that political power functions under the effective control of the popular masses and with their steadily broadening, direct participation in the management of all aspects of public life, serves as one of the most vivid manifestations of the democratism of our political system. A well-balanced system of diverse organizational and institutional forms, which are capable of ensuring that the entire state machinery is under the control of the people and the participation of the working people in state government, has been formed in the USSR. Included in it are: the discussion during election campaigns and at meetings of workers of the political, practical and moral qualities of the candidates for deputies; the mandates of the voters to the deputies; the reports of the latter to the voters and labor collectives both on their own activity and on the activity of the soviet as a whole; the right to recall a deputy who has not warranted the trust of the voters; extensive rights of mass public organizations of the working people and labor collectives to monitor the activity of the state machinery and to participate in the performance of the functions of power; the existence of diverse forms of direct, immediate democracy (meetings, rural rallies, discussions by citizens of bills and others); the consideration of the opinions of the working people and their organizations when promoting workers to managerial positions; the reports of executives of the state machinery at the sessions of the soviets, in their standing commissions, at the meetings of labor collectives and citizens at their place of residence; the right of citizens to lodge complaints about the actions of any officials, to send complaints, letters and statements to all state and party instances; the duty of executive organs to react attentively to all appeals of citizens; the existence of the system of people's control, which combines state and public principles; the assurance of the free development of criticism and self-criticism; the performance by the press of the function of the spokesman of public opinion and social control.

The main thing here, as L. I. Brezhnev indicated, is to increase the effectiveness of the operation of all these democratic institutions [6]. Sociological studies should promote the solution of this problem: it should identify, first, the advanced know-how of the activity of democratic institutions for the purpose of its scientific substantiation, extensive dissemination and introduction and, second, the shortcomings and unsolved problems--typical, special and local problems--which is also conducive to the improvement of the political system of Soviet society. Such studies are already being conducted [17, 18].

The utmost increase of the political (or, more precisely, the sociopolitical) activeness of the masses is of decisive importance for the further development of socialist democracy. Statistical data already attest: as socialist society develops, the scale of this activeness steadily grows and its level increases. Now at the stage of mature socialism it is characterized by especially high indicators. The vanguard of the Soviet people--the CPSU--has more than 17 million people in its ranks, its elected aktiv alone comes to more than 4.4 million people. Practically the entire adult population of the country belongs to mass public organizations. The aktiv of the soviets comes to more than 30 million people, the aktiv of the People's Control--more than 9 million, and so on. Tens of millions of Soviet people regularly participate in the national discussions of the most important bills.

It is possible to analyze even more thoroughly the processes of the development of the sociopolitical activeness of the masses by using surveys and other special methods of sociological research. Science has already gained some experience in the study of the sociopolitical activeness of different social groups and communities and the level of the political consciousness and political culture of people. The further development of the work in this area involves the transition to the conducting of representative studies on the scale of the country.

Finally, the set of problems connected with the /relations between political power and citizens/ [in boldface] in socialist society is an important area of study for the sociology of politics. The essence of these relations finds expression, on the one hand, in the fact that the state grants and guarantees citizens a wide range of political (including sociopolitical) rights and freedoms. The task here consists in a concrete analysis of how rights and freedoms are actually exercised by citizens, to what extent people know and correctly understand their essence, what conditions have been created for all this, what precisely was in contradiction with the content of party policy and the spirit of the constitutional norms [19, 20]. In the last case the study of the specific conditions for the free expression by the working people of critical remarks can serve as an example. Some party organs periodically conduct such surveys [21].

It is necessary to emphasize that it is inadmissible to approach from an abstract, nonclass position the solution of the research and practical problems which are connected with the guarantee of the rights of citizens. It is necessary to recall that the exercise of rights should not be in conflict with the interests of society as a whole and with the tasks of building communism. On the other hand, the relations between political power and citizens presume the increase of the civic responsibility of individuals [22]. The study of the real state of this question also belongs to the tasks of the sociology of politics. The latter borders here on a number of other branches of sociological science.



The sphere of political life includes, along with the distinguished phenomena and processes, the area of international and interstate relations. This, however, is another theme.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In bourgeois sociology itself this direction is given different names (which in a number of instances is connected with differences in the understanding of the specific nature and group of phenomena of political life, which are being studied): "political science," "political philosophy," "the sociology of power" and so on. Some researchers identify the sociology of politics with political science, others regard them as different fields of knowledge, still others believe in general that only an independent political science, which "is sociologized," exists [7, 8].
2. The concept of power and politics of M. Weber, which up to this day has a great influence on bourgeois sociology, is such a scheme which glosses over the class essence of political relations. The concept of domination, which is interpreted extremely abstractly: as the relationship between the governing and the governed, when the former can impose their will on the latter by orders which must be executed, is central in Weber's sociology of political relations. The most complete bourgeois sociological theory, which has appeared in recent decades, the theory of social action or structural-functional theory, is also characterized by an abstract approach to society. Ignoring the social class essence of the state under specific conditions, structural functionalism regards the political sphere as the area of activity of special institutions, which are called upon to monitor the behavior of individuals, not to allow "dysfunctional phenomena" and so forth.
3. In Marxist sociological literature there is no universally recognized view on the subject, boundaries and features of that branch of sociological science, which studies political life. In fact, the group of problems, which we outlined above, is usually examined in those few Marxist works which touch upon this question.

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SOCIOLOGY OF SCIENCE

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[Article by Yuriy Alekseyevich Zinevich, scientific secretary of the Institute of the History of Natural Science and Technology of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Viktor Aleksandrovich Ponomarchuk, senior research associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Physical Culture; and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Valentina Gavrilovna Fedotova, senior research associate of the Sector of Methodological Problems of the Social Sciences of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Trends of the Sociological Study of Science"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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## INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 59-68

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Viktor Vladimirovich Vityuk, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Concept 'International Terrorism'"]

[Text] International terrorism is emerging today as a phenomenon which is dangerous to the cause of peace and democracy. The actions being taken by extremist, both neofascist and leftist organizations represent a serious threat. An even greater threat is coming from the imperialist powers, for which terrorist activity has become a part of state policy. Finally, the speculations of reactionary ideologists and politicians, which are connected with a one-sided and arbitrary interpretation of the concept "international terrorism" and with the confusion which reigns among bourgeois political scientists in the settlement of this issue, represent no less a danger.

Terrorism today "to an ever increasing extent is becoming an international phenomenon" [1]. In the enormous flow of newspaper and journal publications on the theme "Terrorism" there are especially many articles with the subtitle "International Terrorism." Scientific conferences and symposiums have been devoted to this problem, it became the subject of a special examination of the United Nations. The Committee on International Terrorism was set up in 1972 on the basis of a resolution of the UN General Assembly.

As for the license in the interpretation of international terrorism and the political speculations on this, those in which, in particular, R. Reagan and A. Haig are engaging, in essence all this is based on a position which General Videla, former head of the Argentine junta, expressed with the simple-heartedness of a soldier. In his opinion, all those who spread ideas, which are opposed to western and Christian civilization, are terrorists [2]. Such well-known American political scientists as I. Alexander, editor in chief of the international journal TERRORISM, B. Jenkins, a former intelligence officer, and now the chief expert on terrorism

Terrorism is not a new theme for the journal. For example, 3 years ago two articles on terrorism as a political and social phenomenon were published in the pages of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 2, 1979). The sources of the ideology of terrorism were also analyzed in an article which was published a year ago (No 2, 1981).

of the Rand Corporation, Colonel G. Daniker of the Swiss General Staff, English terror experts B. Bell and (R. Clatterback) and many others also adhere to such an interpretation of terrorism. So the book of Claire Sterling, "The Terrorism Network," which served as the source of inspiration and the basic propaganda material for Haig, was not at all a "new word" in western political thought, but opportunely struck the eyes of the current American administration. Only the fact that the U.S. administration proclaimed as the goal of its foreign policy the struggle against international terrorism, which is interpreted in this way, and thereby attached to the latter the importance of problem No 1 in international relations, while it attached to concepts, which were unofficial up to the time, the status of state ideology, was truly new.

Back in 1977 at a hearing on the question of terrorism, which was held before a Senate committee, the terrorism experts, while identifying the national liberation movements with the activity of "leftist" terrorists in a number of capitalist countries, proclaimed the need to fight by every means against all movements which were defined by them as terrorist movements. Here the experts gave as the reason for this appeal nothing more or less than the thesis of "human rights." "These actions," (G. E. Karashian), a former serviceman and chief of the terrorism department of the U.S. Department of State, for example, said, "are criminal and are a violation of human rights" [3]. (Karashian) and Jenkins demand that steps be taken immediately to combat terrorism on the part of not only special institutions and commissions, but also the entire state machinery, as well as the creation of a special "operational mechanism," in which a prototype of the "rapid deployment forces" is easily divined.

During the time which has passed since the proclamation of this policy, its meaning has been completely and thoroughly revealed. The bugbear of international terrorism is being used first of all for the purpose of compromising the national liberation movements by their identification with this odious phenomenon. At the same time an attempt is being made to depict the USSR and the socialist countries, which, in fulfilling their international duty, are giving fraternal assistance to the peoples who are fighting for their liberation, as supporters of terrorism. The expectation is that the Soviet Union under the pressure of such "accusations" will change its attitude toward the national liberation movements. The bringing to the forefront in the problems of terrorism of its international aspect also serves to conceal the social roots of the emergence of the extremist form of political protest in the capitalist countries and to explain its origin not by the defects and diseases of bourgeois society, but by external influences. Finally, the campaign against "international terrorism" is being used by U.S. leaders for the justification and substantiation of their own interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, it is called upon to be camouflage for the aggressive and terrorist activity of American governmental organs and special services.

The term "international terrorism," in spite of its extensive dissemination, does not have in western political science any precise, logically sound and especially a uniform understanding. The interpretations suggested by bourgeois scientists either are incomplete and suffer from one-sidedness or are internally contradictory. It is not by chance that for about 10 years international legal organizations, including the UN Special Committee on International Terrorism, have not been able to arrive at a unanimous opinion on the question of the definition of this concept.



Meanwhile many bourgeois political scientists indicate the need for the elaboration of such a definition. "The problem of definition," S. Sloan writes, "is something more than an exercise in semantics.... The formulation, definition and refinement of the characteristics of what is called transnational or international terrorism are essential for the firm establishment of criteria on the basis of which scientists could group and evaluate the data on the clashes of opposing sides" [1, p 2].

What is hindering the solution of this truly vital question? First of all the difference in the political approaches to it. The constant laments of western, primarily American and English, political scientists and lawyers concerning the lack of a uniform point of view with respect to the content of the concept "international terrorism" can be correctly evaluated only in light of the fact that the special UN committee by an overwhelming majority of votes rejected the wordings proposed by the representatives of a number of imperialist powers, including the United States.

The pluralism inherent in bourgeois science, the eclecticism, inability and reluctance to strictly single out the truly essential features of the phenomenon and the aspiration to fit the content of the concept "international terrorism" to reactionary class goals, which are characteristic of it, are also playing a negative role here.

Moreover, today in the West not only political science specialists, but also servicemen, intelligence officers and journalists, who in general often ignore the elementary norms of the scientific approach, by singling out arbitrarily as the main thing one aspect or another of the activity of terrorist organizations or movements, are studying the problem of international terrorism.

Let us add to this that each of the subjectivistic interpretations of the concept has a specific political meaning. There are very many examples of distorted interpretations of the concept "international terrorism" and of a one-sided and arbitrary approach to its definition and use in the western press. In some cases the global nature of current terrorist activity functions as the main criterion. Phenomena, which are politically and typologically completely different, are reduced in this way to a common denominator by means of the epithet "international." In other cases the fact of the commission by terrorists of acts outside one's own country, as well as attempts on the life of foreign subjects, attacks of foreign embassies, offices, the barracks and storehouses of NATO troops on one's own territory are regarded as the main thing. In these actions, to be sure, there are important traits of the phenomenon being studied, but they are inadequate for the characterization of its essence and political goals.

Finally, many political scientists, in defining modern terrorism as "international," base themselves on the fact that the extremist organizations of different countries closely cooperate with each other. "A striking aspect of the new wave of terrorism," notes B. Crozier, director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflicts, "is the fact that the majority of terrorist groups receive aid of one type or another from abroad from individual terrorist organizations, or from governments" [4, p 2].

The fact of the cooperation of terrorists of different countries is established. However, it is necessary to exercise moderation when determining the scale and

prevalence of this cooperation, as well as its importance for terrorist groups. Unfortunately, this condition is not being observed by many bourgeois political scientists. Thus, the preamble to the second volume of the reference work "Political Terrorism" contains the assertion that modern terrorists often act "as members of a multinational corporation" and even have "their own government" [4, p 2]. "This might be a band of squabbling brothers, but nevertheless it is a band," asserts Englishman B. Bell, the author of numerous works on terrorism [5, p 205]. Professor J. Kaufmann declares the existence of a "terrorist international" in plain terms [6]. C. Sterling, who believes that on the European continent the process of the formation of a unified terrorist army is taking place and in the immediate future the creation of a terrorist organization is planned, the goal of which is an attack on "vitally important western centers of multinational capitalism in the name of the 'struggle for communism'" [7], essentially holds the same position. Some authors develop the same idea with greater caution: "it is not known whether an international 'brain center' or a central organization of terrorists exists," but "the closer international cooperation and collaboration between them" are possible in the future [1]. B. Jenkins, in particular, holds a similar point of view: "It is incorrect to speak of terrorism as an international conspiracy, as if all terrorists are members of a single organization, but it is obvious that the ties between them are growing" [8, p 29].

Of course, today far from everything is known about the ties of different terrorist organizations. Regional or traditionally consolidated interrelations indeed exist between them. Terrorists, who have been driven from their own countries, are especially active in the establishment of such contacts. Meetings of the representatives of a number of terrorist groups are held from time to time, at the same time in spite of their high-sounding declarations the organizational importance of such conferences is small. Hostility with respect to some social forces or others and the similarity of many slogans and the methods of struggle give rise among the terrorists of different countries to an interest in each other and hopes for mutual assistance. But their political goals are too different, while the opportunities are rather limited for the ideological and material conditions to be formed for the creation of a "united international terrorist movement" with a common center. "The ultraleftists, who are broken down into a number of organizations, do not represent any unified movement either in individual countries or especially on an international scale," Soviet journalist Ernst Genri emphasizes [9].

Many western political scientists note that cooperation between terrorists is of far from a universal nature. The example of the Italian "leftist terrorist" movement, the most powerful in Europe, convincingly shows: in spite of the unsubstantiated claim about the "proletarian internationalism" of the "Red Brigades," the "revolutionary proletarian cells" (NAP) and other extremist groupings the important thing for them is aggressive actions within their own country, which are dictated by domestic political interests. The very appearance of these organizations resulted not from external, but from internal factors. It is much more important to study the causes of the emergence of terrorism "than to construct hypotheses about the support which it has," writes R. Soled, author of the book "Le deficit terroriste" [2, p 141]. "Conspiracy theories, of course, are tempting, since they relieve us of responsibility," (A. Ronchi) notes ironically in the article "Guns and Boring Subjects," "but are absolutely unrealistic: it is possible to provoke arson of the Reichstag, but not 1,190 acts" [10, p 939]. "The global terrorist conspiracy with a unified center is the fruit of our frightened imagination,"

summarizes Y. Schreiber [11, p 206]. He is mistaken in only one thing: it is not simply and not only a frightened imagination, but also a politically tendentious imagination.

A clear manifestation of this tendentiousness (apart from the biased appraisal of real political facts and the free treatment of them) is the intentionally simplified, formal approach to the concept "international terrorism." All the criteria usually used in defining it ("the means and methods of struggle," "departure from one's own country," "the targets of terrorist assassinations," "the foreign political, organizational ties of terrorist groups") do not touch upon the main thing: the object of encroachments and their political result. Precisely the object, and not the subject, which the victims of terrorist attack are. Whereas many journalists ignore the elementary scientific requirement: to define a phenomenon not according to its formal attributes, but according to its essential attributes, more skilled political scientists, and especially lawyers, cannot ignore this requirement. The principle of the content approach to the concept "international terrorism" is proclaimed in a number of theoretical works, as well as in the debates being held at various international forums.

As is noted in the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, "in the majority of the very many attempts to define it (international terrorism--V. V.) at least the following is acknowledged: these are violent actions, which take the form of murders or other encroachments upon the life of people for political purposes and to one extent or another affect international relations" [12].

Such an interpretation of the essence of international terrorism is accepted in Soviet juridical science,<sup>1</sup> for its most part it is recognized by many (including reactionary) western political scientists and lawyers. Thus, Jenkins notes: "The simplest definition of international terrorism includes acts of terrorism, which are of obvious international importance" [8, p 20]. Not all aggressive actions, which have been committed abroad, can be grouped with the examples of international terrorism, but only those which do harm to international relations. Many western theorists, who distinguish international and transnational terrorism, have directed attention to this aspect of the matter. When in 1976 a group of terrorists seized the embassy of the FRG in Stockholm, the goal of this act was not the aspiration to strike a blow to the relations of Sweden and the FRG, but an attempt to help the Baader group out of prison. Consequently, it is impossible to assign this terrorist action to the sphere of international terrorism. This is an example of transnational terrorism.<sup>2</sup>

However, to take as the main criterion the negative effect of terrorism on international relations does not mean to guarantee an adequate interpretation and use of the concept. The same Jenkins, in attempting to rank the liberation struggle of peoples with international terrorism, relies namely on the thesis of "the harm to international relations," since this struggle changes the established (unequal!) relations between the imperialist powers and the countries dependent on them. In this case it is not the concretizing definition "international," but the general concept of terrorism, which is illegitimately extended to mass movements, that is undergoing distortion and false interpretation. Thus, "international terrorism" is being distorted both by means of the formal and broad interpretation of the concept "terrorism" and by logical substitution in the interpretation of international relations themselves. "International terrorism," Jenkins writes, "can be defined as



acts or campaigns of violence which goes beyond the accepted norms of international diplomacy and war.... International terrorism is violence against a 'system,' which is carried out outside the 'system'" [8, p 20].

Jenkins adds to the content criterion of international terrorism purely formal attributes, which impart vagueness to the concept and make it possible to manipulate it arbitrarily. He in fact replaces international relations with the vague concept "system" (obviously the capitalist system), appealing not to international law, but to "the accepted norms of international diplomacy and war." Moreover, the concept of terrorism is reduced by him to "unaccepted" forms of struggle, to nontraditional military operations. As a result, the main thing that distinguishes the national liberation movements from terrorism is ignored: real sociopolitical goals and driving forces. It is not by chance, of course, that war is included by Jenkins in normal international relations, while permissible norms of violence are established for diplomacy!

The problem in question also has another side. Since the essence of international terrorism consists in doing harm to international relations, which are its object, the question of the nature of its subject also arises. What forces and organizations have the opportunity to carry out and do carry out actions which are capable of doing harm to international relations? Frequently any group, which carries out assassinations of foreigners in their own country or abroad, is called the subject of international terrorism. However, many western authors emphasized: when behind such a group there is no state which manipulates it, it cannot be regarded as the subject of international terrorism.

Terrorism, according to the point of view of these authors, is "international" when it is directly or indirectly directed by a state which is interested in undermining existing international relations. Strictly speaking, terrorism also finds an opportunity to exert influence on the mentioned relations precisely under such conditions. A constant debate on whether in general independent terrorist groups exist, is taking place among western political scientists. Some authors declare the fact that national groups of terrorists "have ceased to be autonomous" [2, p 2] to be a feature of modern terrorism. Others indicate that in themselves the contacts with sympathetic forces and forces outside the country are still not evidence of the lack of autonomy. It is impossible to speak of the independence of terrorist groups only when they are directly or indirectly subordinate to a foreign state. In this lies the second feature, which is closely connected with the first and delimits international terrorism from transnational terrorism.

One of the authors of the collection "International Terrorism in the Contemporary World," (J. Mikolius), implies by transnational terrorism organizations which act "autonomously, regardless of the solidarity of terrorists and the support given to them." As to international terrorism as such, its "actions or groups," according to (Mikolius), "are controlled by a sovereign state" [14, p 45]. Thus, first, the group which directly performs a terrorist act and, second, the state, which stands behind this group, encourages and directs its activity, are regarded as the subject of international terrorism.

The two level nature of the subject of international terrorism is also noted in our scientific literature, particularly by Ye. G. Lyakhov, whose definition of international terrorism we cited above.

Many bourgeois political scientists are unable to comprehend the dialectics of the relations between the subjects of international terrorism of the first and second level. Some confine themselves to the examination of the immediate performers of terrorist actions, while ignoring the forces behind them. Others interpret excessively rigidly the control of the state over terrorist groups and, in essence, erase the boundary between them and the staff members of special services. Still others, while in principle correctly understanding the logic of the relations between terrorist groups and the state, use this scheme for traditional attacks on the socialist and liberated countries. Thus, B. Crozier speaks about "subversive centers," which he defines in the following manner: "The subversive centers include countries,<sup>3</sup> which give the extremist movements, which have challenged the security of our states, aid with money, training, weapons or various ancillary means" [4, p 3]. The entire essence of the matter lies in this "challenge to the security of /our/ [in italics] states." The author does not name the countries which he has in mind, leaving it to bourgeois politicians to include in their ranks all those whom they wish.

Militant reactionaries such as Kaufmann, Sterling and Daniker constantly accuse the countries, which pursue an independent policy and oppose the dictates of the United States, of supporting and carrying out international terrorism. However, the main object of their slanderous attacks is the Soviet Union. Thus, Kaufmann in his book devoted the entire chapter entitled "Who Pulls the Strings?" to proving the absurd thesis of the "behind-the-scenes leadership" of the USSR in the "terrorist international." Sterling argues at length about terrorist groups as "elite battalions of the international communist army," which was created on the initiative and under the aegis of the KGB [7, p 5]. Daniker asserts that "all the gains from the consequences of terrorism fall to the USSR." Therefore, he states further, it is not that essential whether the activity of terrorists is "only indirect preparation for the establishment of a communist state" or whether the terrorists are "shock groups of the Kremlin, which are being used deliberately for the achievement of specific goals" [15, p 133]. The apotheosis of the provocative conjectures of Daniker was his statement that the kidnapping of Aldo Moro was carried out "on the orders of the KGB" [Ibid.].

While absurd declarations of this type were being made by political scientists and journalists on their own behalf, it was possible not to attach serious significance to them, especially as such statements had also encountered criticism in the West.<sup>4</sup> But in recent times high-ranking western political figures have begun to express similar ideas. The Reagan Administration and some leaders of a number of capitalist countries, basing themselves on the anti-Soviet interpretation of the concept "international terrorism," which was developed by reactionary political scientists, hurled at the USSR accusations of complicity with international terrorism and have made them the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

The anti-Soviet insinuations of Reagan and Haig have not found unanimous support even in the press which is close to U.S. ruling circles. Thus, the newspaper UNITED STATES NEWS in an article titled "Terrorism Is a Russian Secret Weapon" indicated plainly: "The CIA cannot prove this thesis" [17], while in numerous reviews of the book of C. Sterling it has been noted: the author bases herself not on real facts, but on abstract arguments [18]. Even a special committee of the U.S. Senate rejected the thesis of participation of the USSR in the actions of international terrorism, having stated that no proof of this was at the disposal of the U.S.



Government. However, it is not worth exaggerating the importance of this criticism, the main assumption of which is the lack of proof of the postulates of the American administration, and not their rejection. As a whole the U.S. press supports the overall foreign policy line of the President, by manipulating the concept "international terrorism." A slanderous campaign aimed against Cuba, which is accused of international terrorism, has been developed extensively in the United States. Soviet aid to Cuba is interpreted as support of international terrorism. At times one also has occasion to encounter the groundless statements that the support of terrorism by the Soviet Union stems from its "historical position."

Meanwhile, the position of the USSR is well known. A number of statements of the Soviet Government contain a resolute condemnation of terrorism. As was emphasized in the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, the political goals and credos of terrorists of any schools, including "leftist" terrorists, "are incompatible with the principles of communist ideology and morals, which are the basis for socialist society... this incompatibility absolutely rules out any relations between the Soviet Union and terrorists in the capitalist countries in spite of the insinuations or even the direct claims of some responsible figures of the capitalist powers" [12, p 92].

The patrons of international terrorism should be sought among the states which, being moved by the spirit of expansionism and hegemonism, are striving to establish and consolidate unequal relations between nations and are pursuing a policy from the position of strength. First place among them by right belongs to the United States. International terrorism in fact has acquired here a legal basis in the law on the so-called mutual guarantee of security (1951). This enforceable enactment grants the U.S. Government the right to export terror and makes it possible to elevate international terrorism to the rank of state policy.

In the West in the debates on international terrorism the question of the correlation of terrorism and war has constantly been at the center of attention. At first the political scientists, who had turned to the interpretation of this phenomenon, strove to emphasize its specific nature and to show the difference between terrorist activity and military operations. Thus, Professor W. R. Kintner, president of the Institute for the Study of International Policy, emphasized: "It is important to make a distinction between the force, which is used by armies in time of war, and the force of modern terrorists" [19]. Western political scientists also noted such differences earlier, but it is characteristic that one of their main arguments consisted in the idealization of wars which are waged by "civilized nations." The latter ostensibly strictly observe the spirit and letter of international conventions, without extending military operations to the peaceful population. For theorists like Kintner, apparently, the mass bombings of cities of Vietnam, the use here of defoliants and the tragedy of Songmi did not exist.

In recent years foreign terror experts have more and more often concentrated their attention on the similarity of terrorism and war, based on the fact that armed actions are a characteristic feature of both war and terrorism. In the opinion of Daniker, international terrorism is "indirect warfare" between states. It was easy for Daniker and his sympathizers to come to such a conclusion especially as terrorism for them is not only and even not so much the activity of minor terrorist groups as it is the national liberation struggle of peoples. Jenkins formulated this position even more clearly: "International terrorism of the type, which

of late has been conducted by revolutionaries and other dissident groups, is a new mode of conflict" [8, p 21].

The specific military function of contemporary international terrorism is obvious. It is possible to argue whether or not it is legitimate to view it on this basis as a special form of warfare. It is even more important to clarify in the name of what such a conclusion is drawn.

Thus, Y. Schreiber in the book with the significant title "The Ultimate Weapon" places hopes on international terrorism as a means of preventing wars between states [11]. The line of reasoning of the author is as follows: since modern wars threaten the annihilation of mankind, while people cannot wage war due to the aggressiveness characteristic of them and the general state of affairs in the world, terrorism is becoming the optimum (or least dangerous) form of expression of aggressive aspirations and the settlement of political conflicts. It is also the "normal" warfare of our times. Schreiber, a former poet and philosopher, by way of a very questionable "humanism" proposed an unnatural and utopian solution, which is fraught not with restraint but, on the contrary, with the kindling of warfare.

The representatives of the governments of the nonaligned countries, as well as of the peoples struggling for their freedom, at the most diverse forums, including in the special UN committee, have repeatedly demonstrated with facts in hand that the imperialist states, by using organized terrorist groups and bands of mercenaries or those encouraged by them, often wage undeclared wars. In order to condemn legally this form of imperialist aggression, a number of delegates submitted the proposal to include in the definition of international terrorism its characterization as "a special type of warfare."

Right-wing political scientists, primarily experts in terrorism, who are directly connected with the U.S. Department of State, are striving to legalize the thesis of "a special form of warfare" for diametrically opposed purposes. Here Jenkins is playing first fiddle. Jenkins advances the following views in support of the possibility and legitimacy of the policy of terrorist or, in his terminology, "surrogate wars." On the one hand, the sharpness of modern conflicts and scientific and technical progress will make impossible in the immediate future the preservation of the monopoly of governments to arms of mass destruction. This, he believes, is the first factor which "will force governments to accept the concept of war, which was suggested by the terrorists." On the other hand, Jenkins further argues, under present conditions serious wars are dangerous and disadvantageous for the superpowers, since they require enormous expenditures and lead to great destruction and many victims. They are capable of arousing a mighty wave of protests in one's own country and abroad, which will be fatal for the governments. At the same time a "surrogate war" is capable of doing appreciable harm to the enemy and weakening him to such an extent as to make him compliant. The author is frank. He predicts: "Today this form of warfare, which has been rejected by the majority of countries and accepted norms as illegal, in the future may become a legal form" [8, p 34]. Jenkins goes almost to the point of giving instructions, enumerating the basic tasks, directions and methods of waging a "surrogate war."

Jenkins developed his concept at the time when U.S. leaders were prepared to sign Directive A-59, which permits the local use of nuclear weapons, were making the

decision on the production of the neutron bomb and other modern means of mass destruction and were planning the transition to an openly aggressive foreign policy line. The position of this "scientist" is one of the backup versions of the substantiation of such a line. We have before us no longer theoretical research, but a program of actions, a vivid example of a kind of "scientific vandalism" or something worse. For if the concept of a "surrogate war" undergoes further development and begins to be deliberately implemented in practice, this is capable of leading to such an aggravation of international relations and such an escalation of military operations, which can lead right up to a war which is fraught with the death of all mankind.

The thoroughly false and hypocritical bourgeois conceptions of "international terrorism," which are utterly hostile to the interests of peace on our planet, are an insidious and dangerous weapon of imperialist propaganda. Their exposure and criticism are a component of the struggle for the creation of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation among peoples.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "International terrorism is a violent act (acts), which finds expression in the action of a physical person (persons, a criminal organization of people), is secretly organized or is permitted by an illegally acting or passive state (states) and does harm to international relations which are regulated by the norms of international law" [13]. It should be noted that the principle of a scientific approach to the concept "international terrorism" is not always observed in our press. Frequently such actions of the imperialist forces, which, while being aggressive by their nature, at the same time either are not terrorism as such or cannot be qualified as international terrorism, are placed under this concept.
2. However, not all western researchers differentiate these concepts, some consider them to be synonyms (see the statement of Sloan). Moreover, the criteria, in conformity with which transnational terrorism is delimited from international terrorism, are not standardized in bourgeois literature.
3. Thus, for Crozier precisely countries, states, and not mythical "terrorist internationals" and "international staffs," in the existence of which Crozier does not believe, are the "subversive centers," the subjects of international terrorism.
4. Thus, P. Wilkinson, the author of numerous works on the problems of terrorism, who can in no way be grouped with those sympathetic to socialism, emphasized: a large portion of the "sinister speculations" concerning international terrorism are absolutely incorrect. Terrorists do not need either "the gold of Moscow" or "free supervision" [16, p 40].

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## SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCES FOR THE PRACTICE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

### STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN AZERBAIJAN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 69-73

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has discussed the question of the further improvement of the organization of the study of public opinion and sociological research in the republic in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

In the adopted decree it is noted that, in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, ministries and departments of the republic have stepped up the work on the organization of the study of public opinion and sociological research and on the use of their results in practical activity.

The publicity of the adopted decisions and implemented measures, the broadening and extension of intraparty democracy, the systematic study and thorough consideration of public opinion in the practice of party management of economic and cultural construction and the formation among the working people of an active position in life and a correct scientific idea of the achievements of mature socialism and its prospects are some of the basic directions in the activity of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

At present in the republic there are about 100 sociological subdivisions and services, which are operating in the system of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, in ministries and departments, at industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes and educational institutions. Many city and rayon party committees have gained some experience in the study of public opinion and the conducting of sociological studies. The Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan is acting as the coordinating organ in this work. The study of public opinion and sociological studies on the problems of the further development of the socialist way of life, the increase of production efficiency and the quality of labor, the improvement of ideological and political educational work among the working people, the cultivation among them of high moral qualities, an active position in life and an intolerant attitude toward shortcomings and oversights, the enhancement of the role of labor collectives in the solution of these questions and the improvement of the activity of facilities of culture and public health have been conducted in the republic under its supervision. A study of the opinions and

suggestions of the working people on a number of decisions adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan was also made. These studies played an important role in the improvement of the promotion of the Soviet way of life and the improvement of the moral and psychological climate in the republic and were conducive to the development of the democratic principles in management, the increase of the labor and political activeness of the working people and the mobilization of their efforts for the successful fulfillment of the assignments of the Ninth and 10th Five-Year Plans and the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The study of public opinion and sociological research, being a reliable channel of information on the state of affairs locally, promote the scientific analysis of the present phenomena and processes taking place in the political, economic and cultural life of the republic and help to identify shortcomings and oversights, to determine the correct means of their elimination, to reveal and use better the available reserves and to evaluate the conditions which are conducive to an increase of the efficiency of party propaganda. They are acting to a greater and greater extent as one of the important components of decision making by party, soviet and economic organs and are being used extensively in the preparation of questions for discussion in the Bureau and at the plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, at meetings of the party and economic aktiv and at applied science conferences. The comprehensive plans of the economic and social development of many cities and rayons, enterprises and institutions, as well as the long-range plans of ideological and political educational work were drafted on the basis of the study of public opinion and sociological research.

The contacts of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan with the scientific centers of the country were strengthened, which in many ways promoted the improvement of the quality of the research being conducted. Thus, the study "The Indicators and Indices of the Social Development of the Working Class and the Engineering and Technical Personnel of the Azerbaijan SSR," the results of which were examined in the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, was conducted jointly with the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A republic applied science conference on the problem of the further development of the Soviet socialist way of life is being prepared in accordance with the results of the sociological study "The Way of Life of the Soviet People," which was conducted jointly with the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Diverse and productive forms of the study of public opinion and the organization of sociological research have formed. The distribution of questionnaires, interviewing in labor collectives and at the place of residence, observation, the reviewing of ideological measures, the appeal to the population of the republic on various questions through the means of mass information and propaganda, the analysis of the suggestions and remarks, which were made at party and workers meetings, plenums and the meetings of the aktiv, in the letters and statements of the working people and others are being used extensively for these purposes.

Republic seminars, practical exercises and the sharing of experience have begun to be conducted more frequently for sociologists and the party aktiv, who have been enlisted in the study of public opinion and the conducting of sociological research. The graduation of students of the Sociology Department at the Faculty of the Party

and Economic Aktiv attached to the University of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan was held in 1980-1981. A large group of sociologist-social scientists took a course on Marxist-Leninist sociology at the lecture bureau attached to the House of Political Education of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

At the same time some party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, ministries and departments of the republic are not displaying proper concern for the improvement of the organization of the study of public opinion and sociological research. In this work a purposeful, scientific approach is not always being ensured, the themes of the research often do not keep pace with the vital tasks of the present, the analysis of the obtained data and the conclusions and recommendations made on the basis of them are still not thorough enough. The research results often do not find practical application.

The activity of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions in the organization of the study of the problems of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical life of the republic and the experience of the work of party organizations on the further improvement of the ideological, political, labor and moral education of the working people requires improvement. The scientific research institutions of the republic are inefficiently giving assistance to sociological subdivisions and services in the elaboration of the methods of the study of public opinion and sociological research and in the generalization of the obtained results. Many sociologists do not have vocational training.

The increase of the scale of the building of communism, the complication and acceleration of the processes of social development, the increase of the educational level and spiritual culture of the working people, the enhancement of the vanguard role of the communists, the increasing activeness of the propaganda means of the class enemy and his attempts to have a demoralizing effect on the consciousness of the Soviet people dictate the need for the further strengthening of the ties of party organizations with the masses, the more efficient coordination of all ideological services and the improvement of the work on the systematic and thorough study and formation of public opinion and the organization of sociological research.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has obliged the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, ministries and departments of the republic to elaborate and implement specific measures on the further improvement of the study of public opinion and sociological research, to conduct them in accordance with a plan and in a purposeful manner, to constantly improve the means, forms and possibilities of introducing the obtained results in practice, to thoroughly analyze and eliminate the identified shortcomings and oversights and to use more extensively the data of the study of public opinion and sociological research when drafting plans of socioeconomic development and the further improvement of ideological and political educational work.

The oblast, city and rayon party committees have been commissioned to improve the coordination of the activity of the sociological subdivisions and services, which operate at enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, educational institutions, scientific research and other institutions and organizations. For this purpose they have been commissioned to set up in the party committees councils for the study of public opinion and sociological research, to aim the activity of

the councils at the broadening of the scale of the study of public opinion and sociological research and the increase of their efficiency and quality.

The ministries of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, light industry, industrial construction, agriculture, health, culture, trade, motor transport, consumer services, housing and municipal services and local industry of the republic and the Soyuzneftemash Industrial Association of Petroleum Machine Building should set up services for the study of public opinion and sociological research within the range of the approved number of workers of the central staffs and should enlist competent specialists within them.

A new composition of the council of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research under the chairmanship of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan G. A. Gasanov, in which party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers, scientists, production leaders and figures of culture have been included, has been approved.

A new central structure was outlined and departments were set up accordingly: the planning and organization of public opinion study and sociological research, the processing of information, the elaboration of recommendations and generalizations, the monitoring of the introduction of recommendations, are being set up, has been specified. The group of base organizations of the center has been enlarged. The Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences was designated as the head organization of the center.

The programming and the technical and software support of research have been entrusted to the scientific research laboratory "Automated Systems of Information Processes of the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee and the Republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Attached to the Azerbaijan State University imeni S. M. Kirov," which should be transformed into the scientific research laboratory of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

The main tasks of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research are: the elaboration of the programs and basic directions of the study of public opinion and sociological research, the implementation of the practical supervision of all the work being conducted in this direction in the republic; the broadening of the front and the stepping up of the study of public opinion and sociological research, the assurance of the involvement of broad strata of the public in the discussion of the most important, urgent problems of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical life of the republic; the constant improvement of the methods, techniques and means of the study of public opinion and sociological research, the strengthening of the contact with the means of mass information and propaganda of the republic; the improvement of the methods of the processing and analysis of the data obtained during the study of public opinion and sociological research; the promotion of the introduction of the results of the study of public opinion and sociological research in practice for the purpose of the further improvement of ideological educational work in the republic, the increase of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the masses, the formation of an active position of the individual in life.



The republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education jointly with the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has been commissioned to examine and determine the measures on the improvement of the training and further training of specialists in sociology and social psychology. The increase of the training of staffs of sociologists through graduate studies at the leading scientific research institutions of the country and first of all the the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the performance of the probationary work of sociologists at their base should be envisaged.

The Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan jointly with the departments of propaganda and agitation, science and educational institutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the republic Academy of Sciences should: ensure the systematic training of the managers of sociological services and subdivisions, hold for them republic and zonal seminar-conferences, at which they should examine the tasks of the further improvement of the organization of the study of public opinion and sociological research in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan; elaborate and submit for the consideration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan a program of the organization of sociological research and the study of public opinion in the republic for 1982-1985; broaden the contacts of sociology scholars with party committees and the councils for the study of public opinion and sociological research, which operate within them, outline and implement a program of joint research on urgent problems of the life of the republic; for the organization of the systematic training and improvement of the skills of the workers of the sociological services of enterprises set up at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences a permanent lecture bureau of sociologists, enlist leading specialists of the country in the delivery of lectures.

The republic Knowledge Society should step up the promotion of sociological knowledge. For these purposes it should enlarge the network of people's universities and permanent lecture bureaus and direct particular attention to the improvement of the training of lecturers who specialize in questions of sociology.

The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, ministries and departments of the republic have been ordered to step up the provision of the necessary assistance to the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in matters connected with the conducting of the study of public opinion and sociological research, the collection of the necessary information and the processing of their results.

The party committees, the editorial boards of newspapers and journals and the republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting are obligated to increase the use of the means of mass information and propaganda in the study of public opinion, to start special columns, to publish regularly the responses of the working people to important sociopolitical events and to inform the population systematically on the implementation of the suggestions and remarks which have been made.

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## IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL WORK IN LENKORAN'

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 73-77

[Article: "The Effectiveness of Ideological and Political Educational Activity (Round Table of the Newspaper KOMMUNIST, the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Editorial Board of the Journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA)"]

[Text] A discussion of questions of the effectiveness of ideological and political educational work was held in Lenkoran' at a round table of the editorial board of the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST, the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. Local propagandists and agitators, workers of the city committee, sociology scholars and staff members of the editorial board of the journal participated in the discussion.

F. R. Filippov (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, deputy editor in chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA): This meeting is devoted to one of the urgent problems of sociological research--the methods of studying the effectiveness of ideological work. You understand perfectly that in the sphere of ideological and political education the effectiveness of our efforts is determined first of all by the extent to which ideological work conforms to the ripe tasks of the social development of our society. But to a certain extent this effectiveness also depends on how thoroughly the ideological aktiv knows how the population of one region or another perceives the various forms of propaganda and agitation, certain principles or others, which are being promoted by our party, local party organizations and the system of mass information. Very interesting, significant material has been accumulated as a result of the study conducted in your region. We hope that it will help the Lenkoran' Party Organization to improve the promotion of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. There are, however, also other questions of ideological work, with respect to which it is necessary to have well-elaborated methods of sociological research. What is meant here? First, the study by sociological methods of the comprehensive approach in ideological work. It has to be determined to what extent such an approach increases the influence of ideological values on the consciousness and behavior of various categories of the working people.

The second thing that we need to do is to study the features of specific groups of working people as the objects of ideological influence. By what means is it possible to use sociological research for the identification of these features, for

the establishment of how different groups of working people perceive political information? This question also requires serious discussion.

It is also a matter that ideological work should become more flexible, more dynamic and take into account the features of the changing ideological situation in the region. You understand that it is entirely inadequate to adopt any methods once and for all, even if we are convinced of their effectiveness, and to believe that under all conditions they can yield the desired effect.

What do I have in mind when I speak of the ideological situation? First, such profound, permanent factors as the change of the social structure, the increase of the educational and cultural level of the population, the increase of the material well-being of the working people, the improvement of housing conditions, changes in their way of life. But in addition to this there are also factors which have an effect over a short period: temporary "jumps" in the material status of the population, which are connected with the worsening or improvement of the indicators of agricultural production, which may depend on both weather conditions and many other factors. We need to think about the methods of identifying the objective indicators of the effectiveness of ideological work--such as the level of activeness of the working people, the development of their initiative and socialist competition. But at the same time we should also have materials on the subjective indicators, that is, on how the working people themselves view the phenomena and processes which we are studying, how they perceive them. Thus, according to the data of sociological research, at times some differences arise between the objective indicators of the development of socialist competition and how the working people themselves perceive its progress and results.

I would like for you to express your opinions on how to study better by sociological methods the effectiveness of ideological work and at what aspects of the life of the region we should look more attentively. Much experience in ideological work has been gained in Lenkoran' and not without reason did we decide to organize this round table precisely here.

N. Kalantarov (chief of the Public Education Department of the Lenkoran' City Soviet Executive Committee): Annually hundreds of boys and girls of the region graduate from secondary school. Of them about 200 enroll in higher educational institutions and tekhnikums. What are the life plans of the remaining young people, in what way must educational work with them be organized? I believe that an attempt should be made to find an answer to this question by sociological methods. Thereby, perhaps, we will be able to identify the more common socioeconomic problem connected with the optimization of the employment of the able-bodied population of the region and to outline means of the reasonable combination of the needs of the economy, the balance of manpower resources and the life plans of upper graders. We should know with all certainty how to decrease the number of workplaces of unskilled manual labor in agriculture, precisely which workplaces should be created in the region and whether in general they must be created.

F. Mamedov (propagandist of the party organization of the motor transport management): At times we evaluate the effectiveness of propaganda work very primitively. We see whether there is a record book of the attendance of lessons, how many absences there are, whether there is a propagandist at the methods consultations, whether he has a lesson plan and whether it was completely fulfilled. If everything

here is fine, the conclusion is cut and dried--we have a good propagandist, he is working efficiently. But here we overlook the main thing--the level of the ideological and theoretical training of the audience of a seminar as a result of the efforts of the propagandist. It is right here that the assistance of the sociologist is needed. It is well known that sociological science has very reliable methods of studying the degree to which people are politically informed. The organizers of political studies must adopt them more boldly, propagandists themselves should master sociological methods more actively. Here is a simple example: I proposed once to some of my students to select from a list of names those which belong to political figures. And I made a discovery which was unexpected for me--Jean Marat, Tagore, St Exupery, Plevako and Rubens were among the state figures. And, on the contrary, Chamberlain, Oleko Dundic, Aldo Moro were grouped with the actors. The responses to some other questions posed to the students also surprised me. It turned out that some of them interpret individual philosophical and sociological concepts in an extremely simplified manner. It seems that the sociological study of the degree of mastery of these concepts by various categories of working people, who are employed in the system of political education, would make it possible to obtain that "feedback" effect, without which it is difficult to count on the serious improvement of propaganda work. At any rate I drew this conclusion for myself.

O. I. Shkaratan (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences): First of all, I would like to direct attention to the need to consider the sociocultural uniqueness of the groups of the population, which requires the differentiation of the forms and methods of ideological work. Of course, the process of the intensive convergence of the social traits, needs and interests of the groups of the population occurs during the formation of social homogeneity. But at the same time in the case of social equality the diversity of personal needs and interests increases. As a result today it is necessary to take into account, at the least, the differences with respect to sex and age and with respect to the degree of urbanization of the settlement (incidentally, in a number of cases any small city can be less urbanized than a village). Moreover, socio-occupational, cultural and everyday differences are of great importance. It is also impossible not to take into account the peculiarities of the national psychology and the traditions of the perception and transmission of information.

Serious problems are arising in connection with the fact that television, radio, newspapers and journals have entered every home. Ideological work can now obtain a response in the hearts and souls of people only in case of the deep penetration into the life and needs of those with whom the propagandist works.

F. Akhundov (First Secretary of the Lenkoran' City Committee of Komsomol of Azerbaijan): Sociology, as is known, is a strict, exact science. The entire progress of the sociological studies being conducted in Lenkoran' has convinced us that such studies do not tolerate amateurish work. And, perhaps, most of all we lack procedural tools. For example, from special literature we know about the existence of a standard "evaluation form" for the study of the effectiveness of political studies by the method of observation. But where do you get a copy of this form? We expect from scientists and professional sociologists first of all procedural assistance: how sociological information should be gathered, processed and analyzed.

V. A. Popov (responsible secretary of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA): A quite stable stereotype exists in the views on the question which we are discussing today. What is meant is the point of view that production achievements serve



as the main criterion of the results of ideological educational work. Everyone can recall facts which refute such an opinion. It is illegitimate to infer the results of ideological work from production successes first of all because the latter are formed from a broader group of circumstances. Without at all rejecting the mentioned indicator as a whole, the conscious participation of the working people in the implementation of party policy should be recognized as the main criterion of the effectiveness of ideological work. In other words, one must judge the success of ideological influence from those actions of people, which result from specific ideological and political views and convictions.

S. Rzayeva (director of the centralized library system of Lenkoran'): I would like to direct attention to such an area of sociological research as legal relations, the concept of law. Unfortunately, the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA rarely directs attention to this theme. In our region the collection of data on the state of the concept of law of the population for the present is also not being carried out. Meanwhile, the question is very urgent: scientifically sound recommendations on how to increase the legal culture of citizens are needed.

V. I. Staroverov (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, deputy editor in chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA): A few remarks on the use of sociological studies for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of ideological work.

First, the need for a careful, flexible evaluation of the results of studies should be indicated. Unfortunately, frequently the interpreters, when obtaining results which do not coincide with the expected results, hastily include them in the category of negative results, without considering the positive potential, which is contained in them and which can be used under the condition of the implementation of a system of corresponding measures. Traditionally they are frightened, for example, of indicators of the incomplete satisfaction with labor or the situation in the collective. Meanwhile these indicators are a good reason to calmly ascertain what is behind them. Not only an ideal picture as compared with an average picture, but also passivity and complacency may lie behind complete satisfaction and, on the contrary, great demandingness on oneself and the people surrounding one and the aspiration for a high ideal often stand behind dissatisfaction. And it is important to use such an evaluation for the benefit of the matter.

Second, while taking into account the fact that the comprehensive approach functions as a method of optimizing ideological work, it is necessary to view the results of sociological studies in the unity of its goals and means, the interrelationship of the spheres and factors of education. Here comrades have spoken, for example, about the fact that the sphere of agriculture of Lenkoranskiy Rayon still preserves many workplaces of unskilled labor, which does not satisfy young people with a secondary education, the question of whether this education is "superfluous" today has been asked. The rapid transition to universal secondary education and the inadequately high rate of industrial transformation, indeed, have created today in our countryside a base for such a contradiction. But the contradiction itself also might not exist, if the entire "arsenal" of the comprehensive approach to education were implemented. What is meant are the use in this case of the socioeconomic, technical and economic, organizational and management, ideological and other factors of social life, the assurance of the unity of the goals and directions of ideological, political, labor and moral education, which takes into account the peculiarities of different groups of working people and other basic traits of the

comprehensive approach to education. It is obvious that the elimination of unskilled labor involves not so much the elimination of production processes of a monotonous, routine nature--in this case it could hardly be eliminated--as their transfer to machines and the recombination of these processes in connection with labor processes. But this requires organizational and managerial efforts. At the same time the use of the creative potentialities of the competent worker, who is dealing with a technology which for the present does not require special knowledge, can be ensured as a result of the transfer to him of new functions, for example, economic analysis, rationalization research and so on. Finally, the more basic combination of production and public activity can play an important role in these cases.

Third, I would like once again to emphasize the idea that the use of the results of sociological research in ideological work will promote the increase of its effectiveness only when at the same time a precise orientation toward the program goals of the building of communism--the formation of a socially homogeneous society and the all-round development of the individual--is maintained.

G. Ganiyev (Secretary of the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan): For several years in a row now mass celebrations, for example, the Harvest Holiday and Book Day, have been held in our city. They ceased a long time ago to be a novelty, in a certain sense they have turned into a customary affair. And we would like to know how the attitude of people toward such measures changes from year to year, what the expectations of the population are here, what should be undertaken so that each such holiday would be perceived freshly, as if it is being held for the first time.

Now about another theme. Questions like the following: "If you have heard lectures on sociopolitical themes, did they influence the formation in you of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook?"; "Do you have occasion to use the information obtained at lectures in your practical activity?", are encountered in several sociological aspects. For me personally questions of this type arouse distrust. Moreover, they seem to me to be a specimen of scientific unscrupulousness. In analyzing the vocabulary of the first question, for example, it is possible to ask the authors of the wording, in turn, a number of questions: precisely what do they understand by sociopolitical themes? What meaning do they incorporate in the word "formation"? Are they certain that all respondents without exception interpret identically the concept "a Marxist-Leninist world outlook"? and so on and so forth. In short, the impression is formed that the scientific reliability of the responses does not interest the authors of the questions at all. It is by no means the effectiveness of lecture propaganda, but rather the peculiarities of the character of the respondents that is measured by means of such questions.

In concluding the meeting of the round table, F. R. Filippov noted the fruitfulness of the discussion which was held. The remarks made by its participants will make it possible to link sociological studies of the effectiveness of ideological work more closely with practice.

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## CONTRIBUTION OF 'POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE' TO APPLIED RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 77-79

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Nikolay Nikolayevich Semenyuk, secretary of the Zakarpatskaya Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and Vladimir Vasil'yevich Goblik, secretary of the Zakarpatskaya Oblast Committee of Komsomol of the Ukraine: "The Valuable Initiative of the Journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE"]

[Text] The use in party and Komsomol work of the methods of applied sociology is not a tribute to fashion, but a vital necessity, a guarantee of the eradication of subjectivism and a means of increasing the scientific level of the planning of ideological activity. Precisely for this reason the number of public sociological services attached to the oblast, rayon and city committees of the party and Komsomol and to the Houses of Political Education is increasing from year to year. In contrast to professional sociological services, the public sociological services, first, for objective reasons are deprived of the opportunity to specialize in the study of some one problem, since they should proceed first of all from the needs of one party committee or another; second, the studies, which the mentioned services conduct, usually are of an extremely applied nature, the gathering of information is carried out, as a rule, in the shortest possible time (by the plenum, the conference and so on). Owing to these two circumstances the demands on the methods standards of the sociologists working in the party committees are exceptionally high. The scientific verification of the tools and the very process of research is the only means which makes it possible to guarantee if only the "practically acceptable" quality of sociological information. We encountered procedural difficulties, for example, when organizing studies of moral consciousness, the attitude toward religion, the television audience, the level to which the propagandists, lecturers and audience of the system of political studies of Transcarpathia were informed.

It is well known that procedural recommendations (model programs, questionnaires, interview forms, sampling models and logical schemes of the analysis, processing and interpretation of data) essentially are not published. Moreover, for us the difficulties begin already at the stage of familiarizing ourselves with some textbooks. For even "Rabochaya kniga sotsiologa" [Workbook of the Sociologist] in small cities of the country is a rarity. While the published textbooks on the methods and techniques of sociological research by G. M. Andreyeva, A. G. Zdravomyslov and V. A. Yadov have become a bibliographical rarity. The fact that books having such a mass demand have not once been republished for 10 years now evokes

surprise. On the other hand, the mentioned textbooks, along with their great educational value, for objective reasons do not take into account, for example, when introducing certain concepts or others and setting forth mathematical material the level of training of the researchers who are fulfilling assignments of party and Komsomol committees. For this reason we greeted with much interest the initiative of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, which has begun the publication of a series of consultations on the methods, techniques and organization of sociological studies (see Nos 8 and 10 for 1980, Nos 2, 5, 8 and 12 for 1981 and Nos 2 and 5 for 1982).

It is impossible not to note that along with statements of the importance and necessity of concrete research, which are frequently encountered in the pages of the press, the journal from the first publications set itself the goal to show the ideological aktiv at large in a generally comprehensive form, but with the retention of scientific depth, how the sociological study of certain social processes or others should be conducted. The consultations of the journal perform the following functions: they promote the increase of the level of the sociological culture of the workers of the ideological front; they help them to formulate correctly the tasks for public sociological services and to evaluate correctly the results of their activity; they teach them to strictly apply procedural techniques and to elaborate effective tools of surveying; they "suggest," from what sources it is possible to draw more detailed information on some problem or other.

A high quality distinguishes all the consultations without exception and, being delivered one after the other, they form a very valuable, logically balanced aid. Moreover, the indicated series of publications is not simply a popular statement of the sections of well-known textbooks, the authors illustrate the theoretical material with examples from their own research practice. Here it is appropriate to speak about not only the popularizing, but also the scientific importance of the initiative of the journal. Scientific novelty is already displayed in the second consultation "The Analysis of the Basic Concepts in Sociological Research (No 10, 1980). Precisely this problem, as a rule, is set forth rather abstractly and is not brought to a logical conclusion, that is, to the construction of the tools for gathering information. In the literature there is also much confusion over the terms "indicator" [pokazatel'], "indicator" [indikator] and "index." The authors of the consultation were able to reveal the relationship of these concepts and the role of operationalization in the construction of questionnaires (the interview form). The article "Quantitative Analysis in Sociology" (No 12, 1981), where indicators [indikator] find "expression" in measuring scales, while the latter are embodied in the questions of the questionnaire, which include certain items or others, concludes the analysis of the problem. Such an approach to the construction of the tools of the gathering of primary sociological information differs favorably from the nature of the statement of this theme in some textbooks, in which measurement is discussed only as a series of mathematical techniques, while the questionnaire is discussed as something independent, which has only an indirect bearing on the rules of measurement. In the consultations it is clearly shown that the principles of measurement should be taken into account not only at the stage of the analysis of the data, but already at the stage of the elaboration of the tools of the collection of information, for these tools are themselves a set of measuring scales.

The principles of gathering primary information are revealed in an interesting way in the articles (Nos 2, 5 and 8, 1981). Without repeating well-known truths, the



authors concentrated attention on the typical errors in the compiling of questionnaires, interview forms and other procedural documents and revealed such problems, which are important from the point of view of the quality of the study, but have been little studied, as the use of indirect, control filter questions, the relationship of the interview at the place of work and the place of residence, the consideration of "the effect of the interviewer" and the control of the quality of the interview. The grasping of this material is facilitated by illustrations and situational examples.

The principles of the sampling method in applied research are set forth just as comprehensibly (No 2, 1982). Sampling is one of the most complicated questions which the researcher solves. The difficulties are caused not only by the complexity of the mathematical apparatus being used in the calculations, but also by the lack of standard models of sampling, which have been adapted to sociological practice. Unfortunately, in the mentioned consultation extremely too little attention is devoted to the determination of the degree of representativeness of the sample and the data of the study.

It is especially necessary to note the material on the planning of the study (No 5, 1982). The ability to plan a process, which is based on the distribution of the labor of specialists of different types and consists of many successive and parallel stages, the violation of any of which affects the quality of the entire study, is a matter of exceptional importance. Precisely for this reason the authors did not limit themselves to indicating the importance of the planning of the sociological study, but proposed specific standards and formulas for calculating the number of people and the optimum periods of the implementation of the individual stages of the study.

Along with the unquestionably positive appraisal of the entire cycle of consultations, it is impossible not to indicate their extreme protraction in time (2 years). For experienced workers it is more convenient for the consultations to be published from issue to issue. In a number of cases the coverage of themes was inadequately complete, there were not enough examples and samples of blocks of standard questions on ideological and political educational problems. It would have been appropriate to cite several standard models of sampling.

It seems that for the public sociological services operating in the oblast committees of the CPSU and Komsomol the publication of the consultations of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in a single book would be a great help.

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## INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF THE FAMILY

### THE FAMILY IN THE REPRODUCTION OF THE POPULATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 p 80

[Editorial note]

[Text] At present the problem of the family and its role in the reproduction of the population and the raising of new generations has acquired particular urgency. The family holds a key position in the practical solution of such important national economic and ideological questions as the provision of the necessary quantitative and qualitative level of manpower resources, the improvement of the health of the population and the realization of the enormous potentials of socialism for the all-round development of man.

At the same time the conditions of the formation, stabilization and functioning of the family during the postwar period have been substantially complicated, the demographic consequences of the war and the stereotypes of sexual behavior, which were created by them and are manifested to this day, seriously affected it. Such processes as urbanization, mass migrations of the population, the involvement of women in social production and the intensification of labor, leisure and contact are also having not only a positive influence on the family. As a result, the state of marital and family relations at present is characterized both by indicators of their unquestionable progress and by evidence of the inadequate stability and social efficiency of a significant portion of the families, by a decline of the birth rate in many regions of the country and by an increase of the number of broken families and people who are not married. Only an active demographic policy, the need for the elaboration of the scientific principles of which was indicated by the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, can solve all these problems, the aggravation of which is arousing the natural alarm of the public. The accomplishment of this important and complex task requires the consolidation of the forces of all the sciences engaged in the study of the family.

The articles published in our selection are called upon to acquaint the readers with some results of the study of marital and family relations in sociology, demography, pedagogy, criminology and sexology, as well as with those social experiments which are being conducted by party and soviet organs for the purpose of increasing the social and moral maturity of these relations. We hope that the theoretical and empirical information contained in the articles will be useful both for the improvement of the coordination of research work and for the substantiation of administrative decisions in this area.

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## POPULATION REPRODUCTION AND THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 80-88

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Viktor Ivanovich Perevedentsev, senior research associate of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Population Reproduction and the Family"]

[Text] In the past two decades the demographic situation in the USSR has changed radically, having become one of the most important social problems of the country. The need to elaborate an effective demographic policy was indicated at the 25th CPSU Congress, the 26th party congress outlined an entire series of measures aimed at the increase of the birth rate.

In the present demographic situation two of its aspects: the economic aspect, which finds expression in the sharp decrease of the growth of manpower resources, and the demographic aspect as such, are most important.

The data of Table 1 testify to the dynamics of the growth of the population of the country from 20 to 60 years of age (actual working age) for the last six 5-year periods of the 20th century. Let us note that this is not a forecast, but the result of a quite precise calculation which is based on the elementary demographic method of age progressions. By now everyone who will enter labor life by the end of this century has already been born. Since the age coefficients of the death rate are very stable, there can be no significant errors in the calculation.

Table 1

Growth of USSR Population of Working Age\*

| Years              | Millions of people | Percent |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 1971-1975. . . . . | 8.5                | 7.0     |
| 1976-1980. . . . . | 13.8               | 10.6    |
| 1981-1985. . . . . | 7.7                | 5.4     |
| 1986-1990. . . . . | -1.0               | -0.6    |
| 1991-1995. . . . . | 4.2                | 2.8     |
| 1996-2000. . . . . | 1.5                | 1.0     |

\* POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 8, 1981, p 45.

The 30-year period presented in the table is clearly divided into two parts, and the 11th Five-Year Plan is the critical 5-year period: the transition from a high to a low growth of manpower resources is taking place precisely during its years. During the first 15 years of the time interval in question the population of working age will increase by 30 million, while during the last 15 years it will increase by less than 5 million.

The enormous jump between the 10th and 12th Five-Year Plans, by nearly 15 million, is explained by the "wavelike nature" of the age structure of the USSR population, that is, by the constant alternation in it of large and small generations. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the largest generation in our country, which was born during the second half of the 1950's, came of working age, while a small generation, which was born during the years of World War I, the revolution, the civil war, famine and dislocation and suffered, moreover, great losses during the Great Patriotic War, crossed the 60-year age mark. The opposite picture will be observed during the 12th Five-Year Plan, when the small generation of those born in the second half of the 1960's will enter working life, while the large generation born during the second half of the 1920's will leave it.

Thus, during the last decade and a half of this century there will be almost no growth of manpower resources. The situation is being complicated by significant territorial differences: in some regions a decrease of the number of people coming of working age will be noticed, while in others a large increase will be noted. Table 2 gives an idea of the correlation between those, who in 1986-1990 will reinforce the manpower resources, and those, who will go beyond able-bodied age in the different union republics. Under these conditions considerable efforts will have to be exerted so that the distribution of manpower resources would meet the needs of the national economy for manpower.

Table 2

Size of Two Age Groups of the Population in 1970\*

| Union republics      | Thousands of people at the age of |             | 0-4 years as a percent of 40-44 years |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
|                      | 0-4 years                         | 40-44 years |                                       |
| RSFSR. . . . .       | 9319                              | 10940       | 85                                    |
| Latvia . . . . .     | 160                               | 182         | 88                                    |
| Ukraine. . . . .     | 3442                              | 3881        | 89                                    |
| Estonia. . . . .     | 96                                | 104         | 93                                    |
| Belorussia . . . . . | 742                               | 688         | 108                                   |
| Georgia. . . . .     | 432                               | 365         | 119                                   |
| Lithuania. . . . .   | 268                               | 226         | 119                                   |
| Moldavia . . . . .   | 338                               | 239         | 141                                   |
| Armenia. . . . .     | 288                               | 169         | 171                                   |
| Kazakhstan . . . . . | 1545                              | 849         | 182                                   |
| Kirghizia. . . . .   | 413                               | 181         | 229                                   |
| Azerbaijan . . . . . | 744                               | 290         | 257                                   |
| Turkmenia. . . . .   | 348                               | 115         | 301                                   |
| Uzbekistan . . . . . | 1882                              | 623         | 302                                   |
| Tajikistan . . . . . | 493                               | 153         | 322                                   |
| USSR . . . . .       | 20510                             | 19003       | 108                                   |

\* "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g." [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census], Vol II, Moscow, Statistika, 1972, pp 12-73.



It is not by chance that in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress the decline of the growth of manpower resources, which leads to a decrease of the growth rate of the national income, was put in first place among the factors complicating economic growth [1]. Until now the national economy of the country has been constantly developed under the conditions of a rapid increase of the number of workers of the sphere of physical production. Therefore the national income increased more rapidly than labor productivity. Under the new conditions, on the contrary, labor productivity should increase at a leading rate, in order to offset the decrease of the number of workers of the productive sectors. But such a decrease, apparently, is inevitable, since the sphere of services (in the broad sense of the word) is inadequately developed; the number of those employed in it will increase.

Of course, the use of the available reserves will make it possible to moderate or even overcome the adverse consequences of the decline of the growth of manpower resources. However, other things being equal, the effect of the demographic factor on the economy in the immediate future will be adverse. Moreover, the process of the aging of the workers of the national economy (the increase among them of the proportion of people over 50-60 years of age) and of the population as a whole, which substantially increases the demographic load<sup>1</sup> on the representatives of working ages, is also of definite importance in this connection.

No measures of demographic policy can substantially influence the economic aspect of the demographic situation before the end of this century. It is necessary to tolerate the formed situation, taking it into account in the plans of the economic and social development of the country. The task is not to allow an intensification of the negative trends and wherever possible to achieve the optimization of the processes of the reproduction of the population in the future. In particular, a very complex situation with respect to manpower resources may form during the second decade of the next century (when the largest generation of those born in the 1950's will pass beyond working age), if the birth rate in the 1990's does not increase, and considerably, as compared with its present level.

Let us turn now to the demographic aspect proper of the situation. The most essential question here is the state of the reproduction of the population, that is, the replacement of the generation of parents by the generation of children. This concept is frequently confused with natural growth, and as a result perplexing questions arise. Why does this reproduction disturb demographers, if the annual growth of the population of the country still exceeds 2 million? Is a growth of 8 people per 1,000 inhabitants really inadequate? Is it not better first to increase the standard of living, and then to think about the growth of the population? And so on and so forth.

The two mentioned concepts, like the processes behind them, of course, are interconnected. However, the indicators of the nature movement of the population are extremely rough, for they strongly depend on its structure. It is clear to everyone that primarily young women give birth to children, while primarily old people die. The greater the proportion of young people is in the population, the higher, other things being equal, the overall coefficient of the birth rate; the smaller

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1. The ratio between people of nonproductive and productive ages.

the proportion of old people is, the lower the overall coefficient of the death rate. In the size of the population children replace not their parents, but their grandparents, in its structure they replace precisely their parents: as they grow up they take the place of their fathers and mothers, while the latter transfer to the category of grandparents. The uniqueness of the present moment in the development of the USSR population consists in the fact that the proportion of young people (young parents) in it is extremely high, while the proportion of old people is still relatively small (as compared, for example, with the countries of Western Europe). Therefore, a significant natural growth is being observed even with a low level of the reproduction of the population (Table 3).

Table 3

Dynamics of the Indicators of the Natural Growth of the Population per 1,000 People\*

| Year          | Births | Deaths | Natural growth |
|---------------|--------|--------|----------------|
| 1950. . . . . | 26.7   | 9.7    | 17.0           |
| 1960. . . . . | 24.9   | 7.1    | 17.8           |
| 1970. . . . . | 17.4   | 8.2    | 9.2            |
| 1980. . . . . | 18.3   | 10.3   | 8.0            |

\* "Naseleniye SSSR. 1973. Statisticheskiy sbornik" [The USSR Population. 1973. A Statistical Collection], Moscow, Statistika, 1975, p 69; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 godu" [The USSR National Economy in 1980], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1981, p 33.

The trends of the natural growth of the population are obvious and do not need comment. However, on the basis of the slight increase of the overall coefficient of the birth rate in the '70's many people are quite unfoundedly drawing the conclusion of an increase of the birth rate, that is, the increase of the number of births for a specific number of women, or the number of children per woman. Meanwhile, these are different things. The decline of the birth rate also continued in the 1970's (see Table 4).

Table 4

Dynamics of Age Indicators of Birth Rate, Number of Births a Year per 1,000 Women\*

| Age (years)    | 1958-1959 | 1969-1970 | 1978-1979 |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 15-19. . . . . | 29.2      | 30.4      | 39.4      |
| 20-24. . . . . | 162.2     | 163.9     | 174.6     |
| 25-29. . . . . | 164.8     | 128.7     | 125.6     |
| 30-34. . . . . | 110.1     | 88.1      | 72.1      |
| 35-39. . . . . | 66.6      | 48.5      | 31.9      |
| 40-44. . . . . | 24.1      | 15.3      | 11.7      |
| 45-49. . . . . | 5.0       | 2.9       | 1.6       |
| 15-49. . . . . | 88.7      | 65.7      | 69.9      |

\* "Naseleniye SSSR. 1973. Statisticheskiy sbornik," p 136; VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 11, 1980, p 75.

As we see, during this period the birth rate increased slightly at young ages (up to 25 years) and decreased sharply at older ages (over 30 years). In the case of

the birth rate by age of 1969-1970 1,000 women who lived to the age of 50 years should have given birth to 2,389 children, while in the case of the birth rate by age of 1978-1979 they should have given birth to only 2,284 children.<sup>2</sup> The decrease is very significant, if you take into account that it occurred in only 9 years, during which in connection with a change of the term of service in the army a substantial decrease of the age of marriage was also observed. The latter, in turn, led to the earlier appearance in the family of the first child.

The slight increase of the overall coefficient of the birth rate (from 17.0 in 1969 to 18.3 in 1980) and of the so-called special coefficient of the birth rate (the annual number of births per 1,000 women from 15 to 50 years of age) is a consequence of structural changes and the sharp increase in the population of the country of the proportion of women 20 to 30 years old, who belong to the large generation of the 1950's. Such changes do not influence the value of the indicators of reproduction, since it is a process of the replacement of mothers by daughters. With the transition of this generation to older age groups the overall coefficient of the birth rate and the coefficient of the natural growth of the population will inevitably decrease sharply (if, of course, an increase of the birth rate does not occur). Moreover, in the 1970's an increase of the indicator of the death rate was noted. As a result of these factors the net coefficient of the reproduction of the USSR population during the past two decades has steadily declined: in 1958-1959 it was 1.26, in 1962-1963--1.18, in 1969-1970--1.13, in 1975-1976--1.10, in 1979-1980--1.03 [2, 3]. Thus, the reproduction of the population of the country has come close to simple reproduction. Narrow reproduction, in case of which there are not enough children for the quantitative replacement of the generation of parents, begins beyond this boundary.

It should, however, be borne in mind that the situation in the country as a whole is formed from the completely dissimilar situations in its different regions. Narrow reproduction has been characteristic of the overwhelming majority of the USSR population in recent years. Such a situation has formed in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics. At the same time there is sharply expanded reproduction in Central Asia and Azerbaijan. Precisely these five relatively thinly populated republics are ensuring scarcely the expanded reproduction of the population of the country as a whole. But here, too, the corresponding indicators are declining, and in Azerbaijan they are declining very rapidly.

Unfortunately, the published materials of demographic statistics do not make it possible to calculate the net coefficients of reproduction for each union republic, therefore we will limit ourselves here to the gross coefficients (see Table 5).<sup>3</sup> The

2. In order to obtain these figures, one must add the coefficients of the birth rate by age for the corresponding years and multiply the total by 5.
3. The gross coefficient of reproduction is the number of girls to whom a woman gave birth during her lifetime. On the average for the country in recent years it has been 0.07 greater than the net coefficient of the birth rate. This means that in the late 1970's in the RSFSR about 860 daughter took the place of 1,000 mothers, in Latvia--about 840.

comparison of their values in 1969-1970 and 1978-1979 shows that they are decreasing everywhere, except in Tajikistan; in a number of cases this process is occurring exceptionally rapidly.

Table 5

| Dynamics of the Gross Coefficients of Reproduction of the Population* |           |           |           |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Republics   | 1958-1959 | 1969-1970 | 1978-1979 |
| RSFSR. . . . .  | 1.27      | 0.97      | 0.93      |
| Ukraine. . . . .  | 1.14      | 1.00      | 0.96      |
| Belorussia . . . . .  | 1.36      | 1.13      | 1.00      |
| Uzbekistan . . . . .  | 2.45      | 2.76      | 2.48      |
| Kazakhstan . . . . .  | 2.16      | 1.62      | 1.47      |
| Georgia. . . . .  | 1.25      | 1.28      | 1.12      |
| Azerbaijan . . . . .  | 2.43      | 2.27      | 1.70      |
| Lithuania. . . . .  | 1.27      | 1.15      | 1.01      |
| Moldavia . . . . .  | 1.73      | 1.26      | 1.16      |
| Latvia . . . . .  | 1.08      | 0.94      | 0.91      |
| Kirghizia. . . . .  | 2.09      | 2.37      | 2.15      |
| Tajikistan . . . . .  | 1.92      | 2.89      | 2.91      |
| Armenia. . . . .  | 2.29      | 1.57      | 1.20      |
| Turkmenia. . . . .  | 2.48      | 2.90      | 2.57      |
| Estonia. . . . .  | 0.94      | 1.05      | 0.98      |
| USSR . . . . .  | 1.36      | 1.18      | 1.11      |

\* POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 8, 1981, p 50.

What will the population of the country be like in the case of simple reproduction?

If the latter is maintained for a sufficiently long time, the population will cease to grow and will age greatly. With a life expectancy of 70 years the proportion of the people who have crossed the 60 year old mark will come to 22 percent (approximately 1.5-fold more than the present proportion, while in 1939 it was equal to 7 percent), which will have important economic and social consequences. Under the conditions of narrow reproduction the group of the middle aged (over 60) and elderly (over 75) will become even more significant. Contrary to the opinion widespread among nonspecialists, the only cause of the aging of the population is the decline of the birth rate.

The question of the optimum level of the reproduction of the population is complicated. According to the calculations of Soviet demographer A. Ya. Kvasha, from an economic point of view reproduction with a net coefficient of about 1.2 is the most advantageous [4]. However, it is necessary also to take into account the defense and ecological aspects of the problem, as well as the interests of social development.

At present one thing is unquestionable: narrow reproduction of the population is not optimal for our country. Meanwhile, the transition to it in the next few years would be inevitable on the condition of "natural" demographic development, which rules out any purposeful influences. The point is that in the USSR population the proportion of the strata, of which the lowest level of the birth rate is characteristic--residents of large cities, the intelligentsia and skilled workers--is



increasing rapidly; the change of the reproductive behavior of other strata is proceeding in the same direction.

In our opinion, under present conditions it is possible to regard the preservation of simple reproduction as the minimum program of state demographic policy in the area of the reproduction of the population. This means that in those regions, where the birth rate is no longer ensuring the quantitative replacement of the generation of parents by the generation of children, its increase is necessary, since in Central Asia and Transcaucasia it will undoubtedly decrease. The maintenance of the number of births at the level of recent years (about 4.8 million annually) should be the maximum program. The goal is hard to achieve.

At present three-fourths of all the children are born to mothers up to the age of 30 years. During the 1980's the generation of those born in the 1950's, which is the largest in our population, will leave this group, while the comparatively small group of the 1960's will enter it. The following figures indicate this: in 1958-1960 5.3 million children annually came into the world, in 1967-1969--4.1 million, in 1978-1980--4.8 million. The main difficulties with the balance of manpower resources in the second half of the 1980's will be connected precisely with the wavelike nature of the age structure of the population of the country. There is a single acceptable means of eliminating this negative phenomenon--to increase the birth rate during the period of a relatively small number of young women. It will hardly be possible to offset completely the shortage of the latter during the 1980's, but it is necessary to set such a goal. The smallest number of births as compared with the present time may be in the early 1990's, and this is especially important as the children of that time should "replace" in the balance of manpower resources of the country those born in the first half of the 1950's--a comparatively large generation.

Thus, the implementation of measures aimed at the optimization of the process of the reproduction of the population is an urgent task. The question arises: What should be influenced and by what means, in order to improve the situation?

Reproduction is formed from two components--the birth rate and the death rate; of course, it is necessary to bear each of them in mind. But still the decisive importance here belongs to the birth rate. But since the overwhelming majority of children are born in the family, precisely it should become the main object of demographic policy, and first of all the young family should (the overwhelming majority of children are born to women under the age of 30). It is also necessary to remember that under the conditions of a deliberately limited birth rate the real reproductive behavior is determined by the corresponding aims, which are formed at an early age and change little during the mature years. Therefore, young people as a whole should also be the object of demographic policy.

At present the majority of city women are oriented toward a family with one or two children. During special studies 40 percent of the women of Moscow and 47 percent of the women of Latvia responded that they would not bear a third child on any conditions [5]. Actual demographic behavior confirms the correctness of the data: the reproduction of the urban population is sharply narrow reproduction. As is known, for simple reproduction it is necessary for there to be about 260 births per 100 married couples who can have children [5], that is, precisely the third child determines the situation. However, whereas in 1965 third and subsequent children made up 38 percent of all newborn children, in 1980 they made up only 22 percent [6].

The reasons for the decrease of the birth rate to less than the socially necessary level should be sought in the family itself and the conditions of its existence. The changes which have occurred in recent decades give grounds to speak of qualitative changes in marital and family relations and about a transition from patriarchal relations with the indisputable supremacy of the husband to a family in which the man and woman are more or less equal; from the large extended family, which often also included collateral relatives, to the nuclear family, which consists only of the parents and their children; from the clear separation of the roles between the spouses (the husband is the worker, the breadwinner; the wife is the housewife and the raiser of the children) to the family in which the functions of the husband and wife are less specific (the wife is the same kind of worker and breadwinner as the husband, but household chores, as before, fall primarily to the woman); from the family, in which there were as many children as "God sent," to the family in which the couple themselves decide the question of the number of children.

The modern family is not interested economically in children, since the elderly parents in practice no longer remain dependent on them: now this is a function of the social security system. Moreover, the occupational interests of the woman are coming into some conflict with her maternal duties. Further, the appearance of each subsequent child leads to a decrease of the standard of living of the family and an increase of the time spent on household labor. The latter is especially important, since it is responsible for the inordinate loading of household chores on women; men spend one-third to one-half as much time on this work. For example, in simple families with children the total workload of the woman is on the average 77 hours a week (41 hours in the public sector and 36 hours at home) [7]. In other words, the workday of a woman who is a mother, including Sunday, is 11 hours. The inequality of husband and wife in daily life is one of the main causes of the increased conflict and instability of the present young family [8].

Let us recall that the number of divorces increased from 67,000 in 1950 to 930,000 in 1980, while per 100 contracted marriages it was: in 1950--3, in 1960--10, in 1970--27, in 1980--34 [3, 9]. These are the data of official statistics, which, unfortunately, are incomplete. It is based on the registration of the issuing of certificates on the dissolution of marriage by civil registry offices, which usually occurs considerably later than the corresponding court decision. And the very legal registration of divorce often is carried out after the actual collapse of the family. As a result the impression is created that primarily couples with a considerable length of married life break up. However, as special studies show, marriages which have existed for less than a year account for a third of the divorces, while marriages which have existed for 1 to 5 years account for another third.

Conflict in young families and a high level of the divorce rate in themselves are very important factors of having few children. It is well known that wherever there are many divorces, there are few children, wherever there are few children, there are many divorces. Numerous examples of the marriage breakdown of acquaintances, neighbors and relatives adversely affect the decision of a woman on the birth of another child. The absence of children directly stimulates divorce, while when having one or two children, it is easier to bring oneself to it than in the case of their larger number. Therefore, the strengthening of the family is an important direction of the increase of the birth rate. But it is not only a matter of this. Family and marital relations are the core of the emotional life of man; well-being in this area is the basis of human happiness.

The present demographic situation requires the elaboration of a goal program of the development of marital and family relations and the optimization of the process of the reproduction of the population. Its creation presumes the pooling of the efforts of representatives of various fields of knowledge. Such a program should encompass questions of the preparation of young people for family life, the prestige of the family, its economic status, the optimum combination by people of their functions in the family and society, some problems of social security and much else. In the economic area the equalization of the levels of per capita income in families with one and many children is most important.

As special studies show, serious conflicts exist between studies and work in social production, on the one hand, and the birth and raising of children, on the other, and at present they are becoming more acute. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution more and more time is required for obtaining an education, maintaining and updating one's knowledge; the period of educational training before the start of occupational activity, as well as the time for study during the years of labor are increasing. The sharp decrease of the growth of manpower resources is creating the need for the more active use of young people in the national economy. At the same time the decrease of their number requires a substantial increase of the birth rate. The task of social policy under these conditions is to find a compromise between the indicated trends; it is necessary to do everything in order to avoid a "spontaneous" settlement of this conflict by means of the further decrease of the birth rate.

The elaboration of a program of the development of marital and family relations and the optimization of the processes of the reproduction of the population presumes the pooling of the efforts of representatives of various fields of knowledge, since many demographic problems cannot be solved within the framework of demography as such and require going far beyond it. Thus, only economists can determine the optimum level of the reproduction of the population from an economic standpoint, the area of sociological research--the development of the family as the primary social unit, the questions of the motivation of the birth rate are closest of all to social psychologists.

Unfortunately, fatalistic views, in accordance with which the active purposeful influencing of the demographic situation cannot yield substantial results, have acquired a certain prevalence both in scientific demographic literature and in journalism. Such claims seem erroneous to us. Of course, there can be no return to the mass large family of the recent past, and there is no need for this. However, it is quite possible to ensure simple reproduction wherever it is not yet being achieved and not to allow the transition to narrow reproduction wherever the likelihood of this exists.

In addition to measures aimed at the improvement of the living conditions of the family, great importance should belong to the preparation of adolescents and young people for future family life. In particular, it seems necessary to introduce in the syllabus of the secondary school a special educational course, which can arbitrarily be called "The Fundamentals of Knowledge About the Family," for the purpose of giving students knowledge about the physiological and psychological principles of married life, the economics of the family, the ethics of intrafamily relations and so on. The need for such a course stems from the transitional nature of the modern family; the task of preparing children to perform the roles of husband and wife, father and mother at present is beyond the capability of parents.

The program of the preparation of young people for future family life should, in our opinion, take into account two interconnected things. On the one hand, it is necessary to strive for the complete overcoming of prejudices and vestiges of the past in marital and family relations and for the elimination of the traces of bourgeois religious institutions in this area; on the other, it is necessary to extend more actively the norms of communist morals to the relations between sexes, to wage a struggle against light-mindedness in this sphere, to cultivate a sense of mutual responsibility of the partners in premarital relations and the family for the sake of the achievement of the demographic goals of society and the personal happiness of people.

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#### PREMARITAL BEHAVIOR, STABILITY OF YOUNG FAMILIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 88-93

[Article by Tat'yana Aleksandrovna Gurko, graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Influence of Premarital Behavior on the Stability of the Young Family"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

#### EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 93-98

[Article by Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences Ivan Vasil'yevich Grebennikov, senior research associate and chief of a laboratory of the Scientific Research Institute of General Problems of Education of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "An Attempt at the Study of the Educational Potential of the Family"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

#### ANALYSIS OF DIVORCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 99-104

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Viktor Alekseyevich Sysenko, senior research associate of the Center for the Study of Problems of Population of the Economics Faculty of Moscow State University: "Divorces: Dynamics, Reasons, Consequences"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

#### TROUBLED FAMILIES, JUVENILE DELIQUENCY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 105-112

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Genrikh Mikhaylovich Min'kovskiy, head of a chair of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: "The Troubled Family and Juvenile Delinquency"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 113-122

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Igor' Semenovich Kon, senior research associate of the Group of General Problems of Ethnography of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Sociological Interpretation of Sexual Behavior"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

EXPERIMENT ON DEVELOPMENT, STRENGTHENING OF THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 122-125

[Article by Doctor of Medical Sciences Vladimir Mikhaylovich Lupandin, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Object of a Social Experiment Is the Family"]

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## DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS

### TIME INDICATORS IN PLANS OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 126-133

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Vasily Dmitriyevich Patrushev, chief of the Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Time Indicators in Plans of Socioeconomic Development"]

[Text] Philosophers, sociologists and economists are now devoting more and more attention to the elaboration of a system of indicators of the way of life.<sup>1</sup> Time indicators should hold an important place in such a system. While reflecting the conditions and nature of the labor, daily life and relaxation of the population of the country, they also serve as a measure of participation in specific types of activity and as indicators of the way of life and wealth of the members of society.

The question of the need to use time indicators more extensively in socioeconomic planning and management is not new. Although this has been discussed in scientific literature for more than 10 years now,<sup>2</sup> so far no substantial changes have occurred. True, some indicators (the length of working time, regular and additional leaves and others) are used in planning practice. However, they have not yet found proper dissemination--both on the level of the entire national economy and within labor collectives. A very negligible number of time indicators are presented in the statistical handbooks being published. Suffice it to say that we do not even know the actual duration in hours of the working year of a large number of categories of workers who are employed in the national economy (engineering and technical personnel and employees of industry, the workers of the nonproductive sphere and agriculture and so on).

There are many reasons for this situation, which can hardly be recognized as normal. The main ones, in our opinion, are connected with the underestimation of the role of time indicators in planning; the lack of elaboration of the methodological principles of the construction of a system of the latter; the lack of such a system for the different levels of planning and different stages of the drafting of plans. The fact that for the present there is no classification of all the time

The article is being published for the purposes of discussion, which commenced with the work of V. F. Mayyer, V. M. Rutgayzer, L. G. Zubkova, V. G. Veretennikov and L. Ye. Kunel'skiy, "On the Question of the Indicators of Social Development in USSR Statewide Plans" [2].

indicators, which exist and are being used in practice and scientific literature, is also aggravating the situation.<sup>3</sup>

The methodological principles of the elaboration of a system of times indicators will first of all be the subject of our discussion.<sup>4</sup> (The description of the system itself is a special theme which goes beyond the framework of this article.) Let us specify what the indicated term means. First of all, in our opinion, there should be understood by them the duration of various types of activity (labor in social production and the household, travel, purchases, leisure and so on) of individual social groups or the population as a whole. There are usually applied to specific types of activity their own specific measurers: minutes, hours, days, fractions, as well as indicators of the frequency of pursuit--in a day, week, month, year. The duration of the work week, for example, is calculated in hours and days, while leave is calculated only in workdays (moreover, on the basis of a 6-day work week).

Not only the data of the study of budgets of time, but also the materials of primary reporting, statistics and sociological studies (of audiences of movies, television and so forth) should serve as the source of time indicators.

Of course, the data of special studies of the budgets of time of some social groups or others provide the largest number of indicators, which characterize various aspects of the way of life and establish the changes occurring in it for workers, kolkhos farmers and the representatives of other categories. The indicators of the balance of time, which are calculated on the basis of a study of the budget of time of the entire population of a specific territory (city, oblast, republic, the country),<sup>5</sup> are qualitatively different, since they give a picture of the vital activity not of individual groups, but of the aggregate of residents as a whole.

The time indicators are very diverse and, what is very significant, owing to precise quantitative characterization are comparable. Moreover, they have a specific actual value and a socially necessary value at the different stages of the building of communism, they can be planned and forecast.

When elaborating a system of time indicators one should take into account an unusually important feature of them--the possibility of using the same indicator for different purposes--not only as a characterization of the way of life of individual groups or people or the population as a whole, but also when planning the economic and social development of the labor collective, the region and the entire national economy. They act as indicators of: a) the state, b) the socioeconomic goals, c) the means of achievement and d) the effectiveness of measures.

The use of time indicators is usually limited to their inclusion in some section of the plan. Meanwhile, they can be used both at the stage of the preparation and for the evaluation of the fulfillment of assignments. Indeed, in the process of drafting the plan it is necessary to know the */state/* [in italics], the trends of change of the manner of the vital activity (the actual behavior) of people and the unsolved problems. The detailed analysis of the time indicators available in statistical reporting, the data of the budgets and balances of time of different sociodemographic and occupational groups of workers is required for this. After the state, the most important problems and the possibilities of their solution are ascertained, the task of determining the */socioeconomic/* [in italics] goals of the



collective (sector or region) for the period being planned arises. Time indicators also can and should be used here.

They also act as one of the means of /the achievement of the outlined goals/ [in italics]. Thus, in the Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990 it is noted: "To use working time more efficiently, to decrease its unproductive expenditures and losses, to increase the free time of workers on the basis of the development of services, the facilitation of work in the household, to improve the forms and the organization of leisure, especially of young people" [1].

Finally, the indicators of the use of time attest to /the effectiveness of the implemented socioeconomic measures/ [in italics].

I would like to stress once again: the same time indicator can perform different functions. For example, the actual length of the work week (year) characterizes the labor contribution of one social group or another, that is, the existing state. At the same time the length of working time, which should be achieved in the future (its shortening by a specific amount by a specific period), also functions as one of the socioeconomic goals of society. Other indicators are also just as multifunctional. For example, the expenditures of time on purchases of goods attest to the created situation, while the decrease of these expenditures is, first, a socioeconomic task, second, a means of increasing free time and, third, a measure of the effectiveness of the work on the improvement of the trade service of the population.

When preparing the plans of economic and social development it is important to determine correctly the basic goal of the time indicators being used. The choice of the latter, in our opinion, should be made in conformity with the following methodological principles.

1. The Adequacy of the Time Indicators and Types of Planning. On the basis of this principle, the plans of different levels (the collective of an enterprise, the sector, the city, the republic, the country) should have its own system of time indicators. Thus, whereas the inclusion in the state plan of national economic development of indicators of the reduction of working time and the increase of leave by a specific amount is quite legitimate, their inclusion in the plan of the socioeconomic development of the collective of an enterprise is hardly appropriate. Here the use of indicators, which are connected with the reduction of the losses of working time, the decrease of the expenditures of time on travel from home to work and back and so forth, would be quite valid.

In other words, the real possibility of influencing the time indicators is the decisive condition for their selection when compiling various types of plans.

Each indicator should be assigned to one group of the population or another. When drafting plans (of the city, oblast, republic, the country) it is expedient to make the choice of indicators, which are obtained by means of the analysis of the data of the budgets and balances of time of the population, according to the scheme cited in the table. A similar scheme is also applicable for the selection of time indicators when planning the development of the collective of an enterprise. In this case the materials of statistical reporting and the study of the budget of time of the workers of the enterprise can be the source of the indicated indicators.

Indicators of the Budget and Balance of Time of the Population of an Administrative Territorial Unit (as a Whole, Separately for Men and Women)

| Groups of expenditures of time   | Entire population                |                           | Able-bodied population                 |                                    | Working population (including by sectors of the national economy) |                                | Nonworking population (including by social groups) |                                    |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
|  | Absolute                         | Per person                | Absolute                               | Per person                         | Absolute  | Per person                     | Absolute   | Per person                         |
| Total available time (a year)  | Entire population                | Per resident              | All able-bodied                        | Each                               | All workers   | Each worker                    | All non-workers                                    | Each non-worker                    |
| Time of labor in social production (WT)                                  | Total available WT               | Working time per resident | Available WT of able-bodied population | WT per able-bodied person          | Available WT of workers   | Working time per worker        | Available WT of non-workers                        | WT per non-worker                  |
| Time of labor on private plot, orchards and gardens (PP)                 | All time for labor on PP         | Time for PP per resident  | --                                     | --                                 | Time of labor on PP of workers                                    | Time of labor on PP per worker | Time of labor on PP of non-workers                 | Time of labor on PP per non-worker |
| Time for use of services of enterprises of trade and service sphere (ST) | Entire population                | Per resident              | --                                     | --                                 | All workers   | Each worker                    | All non-workers                                    | Each non-worker                    |
| Time of total workload of population (TWL)                               | Time of TWL of population        | Time of TWL per resident  | Time of TWL of able-bodied population  | Time of TWL per able-bodied person | Time of TWL of workers  | Time of TWL per worker         | Time of TWL of non-workers                         | Time of TWL per non-worker         |
| Time for care of children and their raising (CC)                         | Time of CC of entire population  | Time of CC per resident   | --                                     | --                                 | Time of CC of workers   | Time of CC per worker          | Time of CC of non-workers                          | Time of CC per non-worker          |
| Time for meeting physiological needs (PN)                                | Time for PN of entire population | Time for PN per resident  | --                                     | --                                 | Time for PN of workers  | Time for PN per worker         | Time for PN of non-workers                         | Time for PN per non-worker         |

[Table continued on following page]

| Groups of expenditures of time | Entire population            |                              | Able-bodied population |            | Working population (including by sectors of the national economy) |                            | Nonworking population (including by social groups) |                               |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------|---|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
|                                | Absolute                     | Per person                   | Absolute               | Per person | Absolute  | Per person                 | Absolute   | Per person                    |
| Time of education (ED)         | Time of ED for all residents | Time of ED per resident      | --                     | --         | Time of ED of workers   | Time of ED per worker      | Time of ED of nonworkers                           | Time of ED per nonworker      |
| Time of leisure (L)            | Time of leisure of residents | Time of leisure per resident | --                     | --         | Time of leisure of workers  | Time of leisure per worker | Time of leisure of nonworkers                      | Time of leisure per nonworker |
| Free time as a whole (FT)      | FT of entire population      | FT per resident              | --                     | --         | FT of workers   | FT per worker              | FT of nonworkers                                   | FT per nonworker              |
| Time of travel (TT)            |                              |                              |                        |            | TT of workers   | TT per worker              |  |                               |

2. Consideration of the Purpose of the Time Indicators for Each Type of Plan. It was noted above that time indicators can play four roles in socioeconomic planning: they can function as a characterization of the formed situation, as well as be a goal, the means of its achievement and the criterion of the effectiveness of measures. In conformity with these functions a choice of indicators should be made at each level of planning.

3. The Use of the Minimum Necessary Indicators. The number of time indicators is very large. Here some of them are special indicators, while others are generalizing, derived indicators. The use of the latter group, of course, is more feasible. For example, the amount of free time, which in the end is governed by the expenditures of time on labor in social production, as well as in housework and on the private plot, is grouped here.

4. The Combination of Time and Nontime Indicators. When drafting plans of economic and social development along with the indicators of the duration (expressed in hours and days) and frequency of certain processes and phenomena or others (in a day, a week, a month, a year), in our opinion, indicators of the satisfaction with the amount, the use and the conditions of the spending of time (for example, free time) are necessary.<sup>6</sup> In reflecting the conformity of the expected requirements to the real possibilities and the actual situation, they are an important social characterization of the degree of satisfaction of the increasing material, personal, spiritual and social needs of the workers and the conditions of the assurance of the all-round development of the individual. Of course, such indicators should be differentiated according to socio-occupational groups and collectives.

5. The Assurance of the Least Labor Intensity of the Obtaining of Time Indicators. For the implementation of this methodological principle it is necessary to use first of all the existing data of statistical reporting and primary accounting at enterprises and institutions. However, the limited number of these data force us to resort to the materials of a special study of the use of the budget of time by various categories of the population. Studies of this type are very labor-consuming, since due to the specific scientific goals they are usually conducted in accordance with complicated methods. If these goals are limited, the method can be significantly simplified, while the labor intensity of the obtaining of the time indicators can be reduced substantially. The same thing also pertains to the calculation of the balances of time.

6. The Delimitation of the Time Indicators for the Different Stages (and Documents) of the Drafting of Plans of Economic and Social Development. The drafting of a plan is a complex process. At each stage of it, as has already been noted above, its own time indicators should be used. In order to formulate the goals and tasks of the coming period, it is necessary to study the existing state with respect to many questions: the use of working time, the attitude toward labor, the conditions of labor, daily life, relaxation and so on. The key problems requiring solution are identified on the basis of such an analysis, and, on the basis of the existing possibilities, the tasks are advanced. The proper evaluation of the possibilities and the setting of the goals can be ensured only owing to the careful study of the data of the primary and statistical accounting of working time, the study of the structure and use of the budget of time by various social groups, the amount and structure of household labor, the satisfaction with free time and so forth.



The use at this stage of time indicators, which characterize the main spheres of activity of the collective--labor, daily life, education, relaxation--in fact means the obtaining by means of them of specific conclusions which are necessary for the determination of the goals and tasks of the plan. The attentive and careful analysis of the data on the use of the budget of time by various social groups of the population of the country over a number of years enabled the Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences to formulate for 1981-1990 two most important social goals.

1) The creation of the conditions for the considerable decrease of the amount of labor and time spent by the families of workers, employees and kolkhoz farmers in housework and on the private plot and the assurance on this basis of the conditions for the equalization of the amount of free time of different social categories of the population: for kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers as compared with workers of industry; for those employed in various sectors of industry between highly skilled and unskilled workers; for working women who have children as compared with men and women who do not have children, and so on.

2) The assurance of the efficient use of free time by all social groups of the urban and rural population of the country by the creation of the conditions for the further increase of education, the development of social activeness, nonprofessional creative work and amateur pursuits, cultural types of leisure, physical culture and tourism.

When drafting plans the time indicators at this stage should find reflection in not only indirect, but also direct form. The latter concerns, in particular, the "social passport" (of the collective of an enterprise, the city, the oblast), in which, in our opinion, it is expedient to set down along with others the most important time indicators: the length of the work year (in hours), the number of days missed due to illness and the number of unauthorized absences from work per 100 workers, the expenditures of time and others. On the one hand, they determine the social goals and tasks and, on the other, they will be needed subsequently, after the conclusion of the period being planned, for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the implemented measures. Such "social passports" are necessary, in our opinion, for the objects of social and economic development of all levels--from the individual enterprise to the country as a whole. Of course, differentiation is required. The Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences has now begun the drafting of the plans "The Passport of the Culture and Relaxation of the Population of the City" and "The Passport of the Personal Service of the Population of the City."

A very small number of time indicators, which have been selected in conformity with the principles examined above, should be presented directly in the plans themselves. Here they perform two "roles": the indicators of the goal and the means of achieving it.

Thus, in our opinion, first of all the following values should be included as indicators of the goal in the state plan of the economic and social development of the national economy of the country: /the length of the work year (in hours); the length of the work week; the length of regular paid leave (in days); the length of household labor and the expenditures of time on the meeting of personal needs/ [in italics].

It seems that such a list in the state plan is quite sufficient. In fact, the actual length of the work year, which is planned for the beginning and end of the five-year plan, should be the result of many socioeconomic measures: the improvement of the organization of labor and the gradual reduction of intrashift losses of working time and full-day idle times, the tightening up of labor discipline and the reduction of unauthorized absences from work, improvements of working conditions and the decrease of the sick rate, the turnover of personnel, the amount of additional (paid and unpaid) leaves and so on. In addition to the indicators of the length of the work week the indicators of its planned and actual amount can be derivatives of the length of the work year.

The length of regular paid leave is an important social characteristic. On the one hand, it influences the length of the work year and, on the other, the amount of free time. The latter is a necessary time span both for the restoration of depleted physical and mental strength and for the satisfaction of the ever increasing cultural and social (in the narrow sense of the word) needs of the workers. The length of free time in turn is a consequence of the set and actual lengths of the work year, regular and additional leaves, the time for travel to work and back, for labor in the household and on the private plot, the meeting of personal and physiological needs. In order to ensure the optimum annual length of free time, it is necessary to influence many elements of the production and extra-production activity of the workers. Of course, the indicated indicators should be differentiated according to the most important socio-occupational groups of the population.

In connection with the foregoing the time indicators, which are cited in the appendix to the article of V. F. Mayyer et al. [2, p 92], require, in our opinion, specification: not only and no so much their number as the period, for which they are planned (and it is better for the year than for the week), is important. It is worthwhile to distinguish the "overhead" expenditures of time in individual groups (for example, along with "the time of labor in social production" to examine separately "the expenditures of time connected with it"). Moreover, as has already been noted, the time indicators, which have been obtained not only on the basis of the budgets of time of the population, should find reflection in the state plan of USSR economic and social development. This concerns, in particular, the length of the work year and leave. The indicators of the other sections cited in the mentioned appendix also require specification.

When drafting the plan of the economic and social development of the country it is expedient to use the time indicators not in one section of it, but in its different sections. For example, it is necessary to take the length of the work year into account when planning the increase of labor productivity, and therefore the corresponding indicators should find reflection in the sections "The Planning of the Increase of the Economic Efficiency of the Use of Living Labor" [see 11] and "The Planning of the Increase of the Standard of Living of the People." (It is desirable to broaden the latter by including in it a large number of both time and non-time indicators which characterize the improvement of the socialist way of life.)

The methodological principles, by which, in our opinion, one should be guided when constructing a system of time indicators for various levels of planning, need further improvement. However, the need has now already arisen for the elaboration of differentiated standards of the indicated indicators (current and for the future) for individual socio-occupational groups and regions of the country. Without the

solution of this problem, which, unfortunately, has almost completely slipped the memory of researchers, the effectiveness of the use of time indicators in economic and social planning will be substantially limited.

The need has arisen to increase the number of time indicators, which are published by statistical organs and are being used on the basis of not only statistical reporting, but also studies of the budget of time. I would like to recall in this connection that in the statistical yearbook "Trud v SSSR (1934 god)" [Labor in the USSR (1934)] [12], along with data on the use of the working time of workers, who were employed in the sectors of industry, similar information on the labor and budget of time of kolkhoz farmers was cited, and both on the average for the year and for all four quarters. The length of their workday is presented by months. (Now there are no such data.) It would be feasible to resume the publication of such yearbooks.

Let us also note that abroad various time indicators are being used quite extensively as social indicators. In the handbook "Social Indicators" (United States) there is, for example, the section "Culture, Leisure and the Use of Time" [13], in which data on the use of the budget of time and the satisfaction with pursuits during free time are cited and analyzed.

The publication of special statistical collection, which are devoted to labor, relaxation, culture, education and the use of the budget of time, with the inclusion of materials of scientific research organizations in many ways would facilitate the elaboration of the system of indicators necessary both for the characterization of the way of life and for economic and social planning.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In the book "Sotsial'nyye pokazateli obraza zhizni sovetskogo obshchestva" [Social Indicators of the Way of Life of Soviet Society] [3], for example, not only are several methodological approaches to the solution of the problem analyzed, but drafts of a system of the basic indicators and a system of problem indicators of the way of life of socialist society are also cited. In the above-mentioned article of V. F. Mayyer et al. the indicators of the consolidated section of the plan of USSR economic and social development are cited, they are also examined in the materials of a scientific conference which was held last year in Novosibirsk [4].
2. They were raised most urgently at the conference "The Budget of Time and Socio-economic Planning" (Novosibirsk, 1969 [5]).
3. Perhaps the first such attempt was made by P. A. Eglite [6].
4. The article develops assumptions of our other publications. See [7, 8].
5. On the methodological principles and the importance of the calculation of such indicators see [9].
6. For more detail on this see [10].

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## SOCIAL PLANNING AND THE PREVENTION OF OFFENSES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 133-138

[Article by Major General of the Militia and Candidate of Juridical Sciences Vladimir Frantsevich Statkus, deputy chief of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: "Social Planning and the Prevention of Offenses"]

[Text] The controversial article of V. F. Mayyer, V. M. Rutgayzer, L. G. Zubkova, V. G. Veretennikov and L. E. Kunel'skiy, "On the Question of the Indicators of Social Development in USSR Statewide Plans," was published in the fourth issue of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA for 1981. The important question of the need to elaborate a system of indicators of the consolidated section on an entire set of measures in the area of social development in the state plan of the economic and social development of the country is raised here.

A system consisting of 600 indicators, which characterize, in the opinion of the authors, "the entire set of measures in the area of social development," is given in the appendix to the article. However, a careful analysis does not make it possible to reveal in them a systemic coverage of social activity, in which along with positive things the shortcomings and negative social phenomena, at the elimination of which the planned measures being implemented on a statewide scale are also aimed, should have found reflection.

The economic and social changes, which are being carried out by the party with respect to the cultivation of a harmoniously developed individual and the achievement of the social homogeneity of society, have had the result that with the growth of the population crime in the USSR has been decreased since 1922 to less than two-sevenths, while in the past 25 years the level of previous conviction has been reduced to two-fifths [1, p 191].

While fixing the attention of the reader on the quantitative aspect of the matter, I would like especially to stress the specific qualitative nature, the complexity of the process of reducing crime. It also appears in the fact that under socialism "two completely opposite trends operate: pro-crime and counter-crime. Here the trend of the planned and systematic campaign for the elimination of crime prevails and is winning" [2, p 153].

However, the practice of combating crime in our country has convincingly shown that it does not disappear of its own accord, by itself: some types of crimes are being eliminated and at the same time, unfortunately, others appear. Hence it follows

that the combating of offenses should be organized in such a way that during each specific period of time it would be possible to forecast its results in advance.

In this connection I would like to make one remark. In our opinion, the term "the combating of offenses" should be defined more accurately. The term "combating" pre-announces the vagueness of its outcome--it is still not known who "will defeat" whom. Under the conditions of today the concept "steps on the elimination of offenses" should be introduced. The analysis, elaboration and use of these steps will make it possible to determine whether or not they contribute to the elimination of offenses. In the case of effectiveness they should be used consistently in practice, otherwise other means should be sought, which would be effective under given specific conditions and in application to specific types of offenses.<sup>1</sup>

The problems of combating offenses can and need to be solved, first, on the basis of a comprehensive approach, second, with the use of the advantages of our system of statewide planning and, third, which seems especially important, these problems can and need to be solved by stages as applied to the specific conditions of the development of individual collectives and regions and then, having selected the most effective forms, on the scale of the entire country.

Of course, the problem is extremely complicated, and therefore let us touch upon only one aspect of it--the relationship of social planning and the combating of offenses.<sup>2</sup>

According to statistical data, people who work or study commit a significant number of the offenses. And this is understandable, since the overwhelming majority of citizens in our country either work or study. Unfortunately, specific measures, which take into account the degree of prevalence and the specific nature of the offenses in a given collective, as a rule, are not envisaged in the corresponding sections of the plans of social development. Of course, the improvement of working and housing conditions, the organization of leisure and so forth to a certain degree influence the decrease of offenses, but I would like to specially emphasize that their influence will increase significantly, if they are combined with measures of the combating of offenses, which are concrete and specific for the given labor collective. And what is especially important, the demand advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress: it is necessary to base all social wealth and its distribution on the economic indicators achieved by the collective and on the personal contribution of each worker to the common cause, should first of all be implemented precisely in the labor collective.

Offenses--thefts at enterprises, drunkenness, unauthorized absences from work, violations of labor discipline--adversely affect the economy of the enterprise. Therefore, the questions of combating offenses should be an independent part of the plan of the economic and social development of the collective and should not be included in the section of "measures of an ideological, cultural, personal and administrative nature." Here the difficulty of such planning consists in the fact that those steps on combating offenses, which were effective in one collective, may not be such in another. One should caution against their thoughtless, mechanical use without a thorough study of the way of life of the collective. Exhaustive information on all (at least the officially registered) the offenses committed by members of the collective is also necessary for the elaboration of specific measures.

The duty of law enforcement organs to send to the appropriate collectives information on each case of antisocial displays, which has been permitted by the working or student members of the given collective, is stipulated in the prevailing criminal procedural law and departmental enforceable enactments. However, this requirement is violated at times. The assurance of its unconditional observance is the duty of the executives of the corresponding law enforcement organs.

The information on a committed offense or crime is sent not only so that the collective would have the appropriate information, but also--which is even more important--so that the collective would express its own opinion which condemns the act. Unfortunately, a significant number of offenses remain uncensured. In a number of cases the executives limit themselves to the formal replies "steps have been taken," while at times the reports of law enforcement organs in general remain unanswered.

Lenin's idea of the inevitability of punishment is the basis for the tasks formulated by the party of combating negative phenomena. Moreover, among the legal sanctions there are also a considerable number which do not involve imprisonment. But if in the collective an attentive, comprehensive examination of the behavior of a person is not ensured when hearing the case in the Comrades' Court or when settling the question of bail, the offender may get the impression that he has been left unpunished. What is more, this sense of impunity usually also adversely affects the behavior of other people and the microclimate of the collective as a whole. Meanwhile, without a healthy social climate in each collective, the creation of which was specially discussed in the Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990, the measures on combating offenses, which are stipulated in the plan of social development, will become less effective, if any positive effect exists at all.

Not only the administration of the enterprises, but also the organs directly responsible for law and order are interested in enhancing the role of social planning in the prevention of offenses. Therefore, at present the Scientific Center of Studies of Problems of Management of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is actively participating in the solution of the problems of strengthening the contact of internal affairs organs with labor collectives. The questions of the information supply of labor collectives and the increase of the effectiveness of the participation of workers in the maintenance of public order not only as members of the voluntary people's patrols, but also as teachers "of their own members in the spirit of communist morality," as Article 8 of the USSR Constitution requires, are being studied.

"Effective socialist management," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is inconceivable without reliance on the collective, without the cultivation of a truly practical attitude toward the matter, without economic culture, without a high quality of the labor of everyone" [5, p 127]. Let us add that the solution of this important problem is also impossible without the cultivation in the collective of legal culture, of intolerance toward any violations of the norms and rules of behavior, which have been elaborated in our society.

The sociopsychological climate of a specific village, workers' settlement, rayon center, etc. is of great importance for the prevention of offenses. Therefore regional social planning should envisage without fail measures, the consistent

implementation of which would create an atmosphere of active opposition to offenses, stimulating the activity of labor collectives and law enforcement organs in the eradication of antisocial displays.

In recent times the party and the state have been devoting close attention to the enhancement of the role of the rayon soviets of people's deputies "...in the accomplishment of the tasks of state, economic and sociocultural construction, the increase of their initiative and responsibility for the solution of planning, financial and land questions, for the development of agriculture, local industry and construction, the improvement of the sociocultural, personal and other service of the population, the strengthening of socialist legality..." [6]. Precisely the rayon soviets of people's deputies should ensure the elaboration and implementation of comprehensive measures which are aimed at the combating of offenders.

The legal basis of this function of the soviets is the USSR Constitution, in which in Article 146 it is indicated that "the local soviets of people's deputies manage on their territory state, economic and sociocultural construction; approve the plans of economic and social development... ensure the observance of the laws, the maintenance of state and public order...."

Here it is necessary to "join" very accurately the sections of the plans of social development, which concern the prevention of offenses, at the level of labor collectives<sup>3</sup> and at the regional level. In particular, the suggestions, which can be implemented only on the scale of the rayon, should be sent to the planning commissions of the executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies. The latter determines the backing of the measures by the rayon budget, designates the responsible people and the specific dates of fulfillment.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, in the existing plans of the economic and social development of enterprises there are no special sections which are devoted to the eradication of drunkenness, the violations of the rules of socialist society, misappropriations and so forth. On the scale of the rayon only law enforcement organs, as a rule, deal with these questions. A special plan of preventive work is being drawn up, which is aimed at the combating of offenses and crimes and at the basis of which there are measures which are implemented by the forces and at the expense of law enforcement organs themselves. In most cases such plans are not checked by the executive committees and, what is most important, for the present they are not a component of the state plans of the economic and social development of the rayon.

One of the important tasks of social planning is the elaboration of not only recommendations on the drawing up of special sections devoted to the combating of offenses, but also a system of indicators which reflect the role of public organizations in the solution of this problem.

Up until now the special section "The Prevention of Offenses and the Legal Education of the Population" is emphasized in the work "Perspektivnoye planirovaniye ekonomicheskogo i sotsial'nogo razvitiya goroda" [Long-Range Planning of the Economic and Social Development of the City]. "The goal of this part of the plan," the authors note, "is the elaboration of measures, which are aimed at the protection of socialist property, the tightening up of socialist law and order, the protection of the rights of citizens, the utmost protection of their lives and health." They suggest five basic sections which include the following measures: 1) the



improvement of the activity of party, soviet and administrative organs and the public in the sphere of the prevention of offenses; 2) the identification and elimination of the causes and conditions, which contribute to the commission of crimes and other offenses; 3) the prevention of individual types of crime; 4) the tightening up of discipline in labor collectives; 5) legal education and legal propaganda. In the plan the performers, the dates and the expenditures (in monetary terms) should be indicated and the social effectiveness should be specified [8, pp 126, 197]. In the opinion of the authors, this will make it possible to establish the causes of negative phenomena and to elaborate not general recommendations, but specific measures.

In legal literature the suggestion has been made to include the indicators of the reduction of crime in the plans of economic and social development. "On the basis of a forecast, but with allowance made for the existence of latent (concealed) crime, a shift should be made to the compiling of a draft of a plan to combat the latter. This draft should consist of two parts. In the first part the planning indicators of the reduction of crime as a whole and by individual groups or types of crimes (for example, property crimes, juvenile delinquency, hooliganism and so on) are incorporated, while measures to prevent crime, the implementation of which should ensure the fulfillment of the plan assignments, are incorporated in the second part" [9, p 216]. Unfortunately, this stand is not shared by the authors of the article being discussed.

The solution of the question of the planning of the reduction of crime presumes the inclusion of the statistics of offenses in the system of indicators of social development and, consequently, a certain enlargement of the group of competent people. In addition to the workers of law enforcement organs the information on offenses should, in our opinion, be brought to the attention of the executives of enterprises, educational institutions, party and other public organizations.

Here I would like to quote Academician A. M. Rumyantsev, who in one of his works touched upon the question of the attitude of V. I. Lenin toward this problem. "As a responsible state figure, he considered certain restrictions in the divulgence of information to be inevitable (in Lenin's materials it is possible to find much evidence of how V. I. Lenin was able to guard state and party secrecy and how he required this of others). However, without disregarding this extremely important circumstance, V. I. Lenin fought resolutely against those who interpreted it inordinately broadly and violated the principle of publicity, which he so valued. But he believed that this circumstance should not influence the publicity of our critical work, without which the rapid and effective elimination of blunders and shortcomings is impossible, and believed that in the end the real achievements in the building of socialism are much more important for us than the temporary imaginary achievements of reactionary propaganda" [10, p 49].

This question should also be solved from a Leninist position. That information, which would reflect most completely the prevalence of various negative phenomena, for example, such phenomena as drunkenness, petty thefts at enterprises, the violation of law and order in public places and in everyday life, should be selected.

The pooling of the efforts of scientific collectives and law enforcement organs, the organization of joint research and the adoption of its results in the practice of social planning and management could promote the more successful solution of this problem.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Precisely such an interpretation, in my opinion, conforms to the requirements formulated in the CPSU Program [3, p 106].
2. N. A. Aitov quite correctly wrote that in our literature there still exists the point of view, in conformity with which the concept "social development" is confined to the increase of the well-being and the improvement of the living conditions of people, while "social planning" is confined only to the solution of the problems of eliminating social class differences [4, p 43].
3. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality" of 12 July 1979 it is especially emphasized that "the compiling of the annual plan should begin from below--with production associations (enterprises) and organizations."
4. In a round table discussion devoted to the subject and structure of sociological science, A. G. Kharchev expressed the correct idea: "We write much about what must be done, but are almost not studying the possibilities, alternatives, means of achieving the desired result--how to do it, by what reserves, by means of what assets? But you would not include simply desires in a plan" [7, p 101].

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## PARTY AND KOMSOMOL TRAINING

### BEHAVIOR OF WORKERS IN PRODUCTION ENVIRONMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 139-147

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Viktor Grigor'yevich Britvin, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Production Engineering Environment of the Enterprise and the Behavior of the Worker"]

[Text] The successful implementation of the economic and social policy of the party and the Soviet state is closely connected with the further increase of labor productivity, the changeover to intensive methods of management and the increase of the effectiveness of all the activity of production enterprises (organizations), which are, as is known, the basic unit of the national economy.

Production organizations, of which industrial enterprises are the most typical type, act as a special kind of environment for the worker and the collective as a whole. It is distinguished by a high saturation with objective physical components--first of all technical, technological and organizational (the latter often are called technical and economic factors), by the effect of a system of rigid technical and economic standards and by the diversity of the conditions of the labor process. On the level of society the importance of these essential elements of the productive forces is revealed through the system of production relations. On the level of the enterprise the role of the mentioned factors is realized, moreover, directly, in the specific technological nature of the combination of machines, devices, equipment and man in the production cycle. The diverse organizational and technical factors and the conditions of production activity constitute an important aspect of the real existence of the worker and the collective, his production engineering environment. The consideration of this circumstance protects against the oversimplification and even the distortion of the real picture of the process of the functions and development of the collective and makes it possible to understand better the mechanism of such phenomena and processes as the motivation of labor activity, the satisfaction with labor, the production adaptation of the worker, the formation of interpersonal relations and so on.

The scientific analysis of the behavior of the worker in a production organization cannot be limited only to the examination of man in the "individual-group" system, that is, to the area of the influence on the individual of direct contacts with other people, which arise in the process of joint activity. The explanation of the behavior of the worker, which is based only on the indicated scheme, does not meet even the needs of the study of the primary collectives--task groups, in which the



most intensive contacts and intercourse between individuals occur. Incidentally, precisely the fact that these common characters are the main vehicles of interpersonal relations to a considerable extent was conducive to the spread of an oversimplified view of the primary collective as a social object, the mechanism of the functioning of which for the most part reduces to the emotional acts of the choice or rejection of the members of a group. Studies show, however, that the primary collective is a more complex formation than this often seems. Thus, according to the stratometric concept of group activity, which was elaborated under the direction of A. V. Petrovskiy, it is necessary to distinguish several strata of intragroup relations: emotional relations, which are mediated, as well as not mediated by the content aspect of activity; the attitudes of the individual members of the group to group activity, its goals, tasks and principles; the purposeful activity of the group with its content and other characteristics [3]. Thus, in the social personal aspect the mechanism of the behavior of a person should be represented in the form of a multilevel structure of qualitatively distinct processes of group activity.

Without belittling the importance of various kinds of social, personal factors in the behavior of the worker, let us examine those components of the production organization, to which an essential place belongs at the enterprise and first of all in industry.

To start with, let us turn to the working conditions. According to the data of a study of machine operators, which was conducted by scientists of Moscow State University, among the people who considered their job uninteresting, more than 54 percent link their dissatisfaction with the working conditions and organization of labor (the fast pace, the discomfort of the working position, the poor organization of workplaces and so on); 29 percent--with the low meaningfulness of labor [4]. The role of the comfort of labor as a factor of satisfaction with a job is steadily increasing. Another characteristic of the labor process--the meaningfulness of labor, which is frequently named among the most important prerequisites of the behavior of specific categories of workers--is also closely connected with the organizational and technical peculiarities of production. There are grounds for the assumption that in individual evaluations of the separate elements of the labor situation a gradual shift in the direction of an increase of the importance of the overall conditions of the labor process can occur.

Our studies, which were conducted at a number of industrial enterprises, established: among workers the proportion of those dissatisfied with the content of labor came to less than 16 percent (among engineering and technical personnel--less than 9 percent); the number of those dissatisfied with working conditions for workers amounts to approximately 40 percent and for engineering and technical personnel--30 percent. The number of those not satisfied with the organization of labor is just as great--46 and 40 percent respectively. At the same time 11.5 percent of the workers and 11 percent of the engineering and technical personnel expressed dissatisfaction with the relations with their immediate chief; about 3 percent of the workers and 4 percent of the engineering and technical personnel expressed dissatisfaction with the relations with their fellow workers. Similar data were also obtained in a number of other studies, although the list of components of the labor situation in them differed slightly from the list previously used by us.

It is possible to trace the results of the influence of the different components of the production engineering environment on the behavior of the worker directly from the example of labor discipline. The data attest to a quite close relationship between labor discipline and the specific technological nature of production: as a rule, there are far more violators of labor discipline among workers engaged in difficult physical labor than among those employed in automated production. It would be an oversimplification to explain this dependence only by the features of the equipment, technology and organization of labor. Difficult physical labor is usually unskilled and unmeaningful, which adversely affects the motivation of labor activity. It is obvious, however, that in automated production the role of the factor of personal responsibility for the results of labor increases sharply. Deviations from the operating conditions of expensive automatic equipment can turn into great losses for the entire collective (due to the breakdown of equipment, the inadequate output of products, the disturbance of the rhythm of production) or can lead to consequences which are hazardous to the health and life of man.

Let us turn to another aspect of the problem, which, although not directly connected with the labor process, has a direct bearing on the production engineering environment of the enterprise. For all the complexity of the problem of tightening up labor discipline at times the implementation of comparatively simple technical measures and the stricter monitoring of labor procedure are sufficient for this. Thus, with the introduction at several enterprises of an electronic control system (the installation of automatic turnstyles) the number of people coming to work late decreased by several times.

Of course, the importance of such means should not be overestimated. At the socialist enterprise the main thing is to inculcate in the individual values, ideals and principles, which meet the requirements of modern production and ensue from the norms of the moral code of the builder of communism. At the same time the indicated measures in combination with other methods of influencing the worker can and should be used. In this case not only the possibility of solving questions of a social nature by means of organizational and technical measures is important. The functional similarity of the results, which are governed by phenomena of a different nature, attracts attention: the technical and technological components bear a regularity load, assuming the functions of social norms, orders and prohibitions. Moreover, frequently they turn out to be just as effective as other methods which are called upon to ensure the necessary standard of behavior of a person.

The low level of the organization of the production process also adversely affects the consciousness and behavior of people. An increase of the number of idle times for reasons not dependent on the worker often leads to an appreciable increase of the number of violations of discipline, and on the part of people who previously observed the labor procedure conscientiously. According to the data of the studies, an increase of the idle times for reasons not dependent on the worker from 3.4 percent to 7 percent entailed an increase of the losses dependent on the workers from 1 percent to 6.3 percent [5]. Interesting materials, which attest to the dependence between the production rhythm and the state of labor discipline, were obtained by Leningrad scientists [6]. It is possible to explain this interrelationship in the following manner.

In the case of a high level of the organization of the labor process the violations of discipline are appraised by the individual as deviations from the actual, really

prevailing norms; well-organized production increases the probability of the imposition of sanctions. Further, the absentee almost inevitably does harm to the people who are technologically dependent on him. Their usual response is moral censure, that is, the mechanism of social control operates here. Finally, the failure to observe labor procedure entails losses in wages. Completely different versions of behavior arise in the situation when the production cycle is disturbed regardless of a given person. It "relieves" him of individual responsibility for many negative consequences. Precisely for this reason under the conditions of the poor organization of production many educational measures cannot be effective. In such cases the main educational influence on people consists in the prompt elimination of the factors which prevent a stable production rhythm, that is, in the improvement of the organizational and technical aspects of the production process.

Among the various forms of influence on the worker a conspicuous place belongs to the improvement of distributive relations by means of material stimulation and the norm setting of labor [7]. The shortcomings of norm setting in combination with the poor organization of production are fertile soil for various financial infringements. Thus, the coexistence in a single sector of technically sound and, along with this, understated norms is the basic cause of the unhealthy competition between individual workers for the receipt of "profitable" assignments. Such a practice leads to the upsetting of the production schedule and does moral harm to the psychological climate in the collective.

Technically unsound norms create the false notion of great labor achievements wherever it is a question of mediocre results. And, on the contrary, the norm setting, which is based on the thorough consideration of the technical, economic and social factors of production and the initiative of the workers, substantially increases the moral value of the earned ruble and promotes the steady increase of production efficiency and work quality. In many instances and even in the case of the organization of socialist competition they proceed from the need to plan and achieve output norms, which exceed by 1.5-fold and more the scientifically sound indicators. The experience of the work of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, at which one of the most advanced systems of the organization of labor and wages in the country is used, attests: a high level of the organization of labor is incompatible with the significant exceeding of the output norms. At the association it has not exceeded for many years a few percent of the planned norms.

As a whole the social importance of output norms, which, at first glance, act only as technical and economic characteristics of concrete labor, consists in the fact that they directly govern the formation of the standards of behavior of the worker. The realization by a person of specific technical norms as an adequate gauge of the evaluation of his personal labor contribution promotes, in the end, the formation in him of a sense of the correctness of this evaluation. In this connection the study of the psychological mechanism of the formation of satisfaction with wages, which was conducted under the direction of I. M. Popova, is of great interest.

It was established that "the evaluation of one factor or another is connected to a great extent with other evaluations than with the factor itself. For example, the satisfaction with wages is more closely connected with the evaluation of their conformity to the norm than with the wages themselves and their 'actual conformity' to the verbally expressed 'norm.' According to some data, in the case of the same



level of wages the satisfaction with them fluctuates subject to the conformity of the wages to the verbally... expressed 'norm' and to an even greater extent subject to the evaluation of this conformity" [8]. The drawn conclusion, although here it is not a question of technical norm setting as such (the latter is "present" in the amount of wages), attests to the important role of technically sound norms and standards of wages for the evaluation by the individual of the distributive relations existing at the enterprise. The improvement of the organization of wages on the basis of uniform standards constitutes an indispensable condition of the improvement of the entire system of stimulation and the relations at the enterprise. The experience of the Aksay Plastics Plant of the Khimprodukt Association is clear evidence of what impact the steady improvement of the methods of norm setting, which is based on the initiative of the workers themselves, can yield. The essence of the matter consists in the following: a lump-sum bonus, on the basis of the 3- or 6-month economy, is paid to the worker for initiative connected with the increase of the output norms (by 10 percent or more). Owing to this system in just the 10 years of its use labor productivity at the enterprise increased by more than threefold.

The raising of the question of the development of production organization and the development of the collective as relatively independent aspects is legitimate when analyzing the influence of the production engineering environment of the enterprise on the worker. The directions of their change not only do not coincide, but can come into conflict with each other. Let us take such a type of task groups as the brigade.

The brigade methods of labor have received and are receiving quite justified use in many sectors of the national economy. The emergence and spread of collective methods of labor are, in our opinion, a natural result of the development of the organizational component of production and ensue from the need to overcome the formed contradiction between the achieved level of the productive forces and individual elements of the production relations (first of all management and planning). Precisely the objective consequences of the functioning of the established economic mechanism required the improvement of the organizational structures of management, the redistribution of control and management functions and the delegation to lower levels of management of a portion of the rights which previously belonged to specialized subdivisions of the enterprises: accounting, the monitoring of the amount and quality of labor, the distribution of wages and others.

The advantages of the brigade forms of the organization of labor find expression in the decrease and stabilization of the number of workers employed first of all in the management subdivisions; the increase of labor productivity; the creation of the prerequisites for overcoming the adverse influence on man of separated labor operations; the increase of the skills of workers, the tightening up of discipline.

According to the data of our studies, the members of brigades rate quite highly the state of interpersonal relations in the brigade in which they directly work: 61.5 percent of the respondents consider these relations to be good, amicable; 19.5 percent--purely practical; 7.5 percent--cool, strained; 3.5 percent--poor, tense. Meanwhile, the responses of workers with an individual piece-rate wage are broken down in the following manner--46.7, 23.5, 6.6 and 10.2 percent respectively. Similar differences also characterize the dependence between the forms of the organization of labor and wages and the satisfaction of the individual with his job.



At the same time it is hardly legitimate to see in the brigade forms of activity an equivalent to the communist organization of labor. The recognition of the above-mentioned advantages of the brigade methods of labor still does not give grounds for the corresponding conclusions about their comprehensive social impact. There are data which attest to the ambiguity and contradictoriness of the evaluations by brigade members of the new forms of the organization of labor. Worsening of the relations within the collective is often established. It also happens that the interpersonal relations within the brigade are formed on the basis of narrow group interests, displays of group egotism exist. Cases of favoritism are observed, the improper distribution of wages is encountered. Certain difficulties also arise in the case of the organization of individual competition within the brigade, in the provision of equal opportunities for the self-affirmation of each worker and so on.

Some data attest to certain advantages of the studied brigades, in which wages are distributed in accordance with the wage categories and the actually worked time, as compared with the brigade, in which wages are credited in conformity with the coefficient of labor participation. Whereas in the former 66 percent of the members characterized interpersonal relations as good, amicable, in the latter 57.6 percent did; the proportion of those considering these relations to be poor, tense amounts subject to the type of brigades to 2.5 percent and 4.2 percent respectively. The dependence between the forms of the organization of labor and the satisfaction with work is even more pronounced: in brigades of the first type 60.2 percent are satisfied and 8.2 percent are dissatisfied; in brigades of the second type--51.7 and 17.4 percent.

In other words, what is good in the production and economic sense is not always irreproachable from the point of view of the individual brigade member and with respect to some characteristics of the social development of the collective. The extensive dissemination of the brigade forms of the organization of labor and wages during the current five-year plan requires, in addition to the active promotion of their advantages, systematic and thorough study by means of the conducting of sociological studies and the elaboration of practical recommendations, including of a forecasting nature. A careful analysis of all the aspects of the use of the brigade method and of the effectiveness of its various forms--contract, combined, multistage, orderless with the distribution of wages according to the coefficient of labor participation and so on--is necessary. Only such research can ensure the unity of organizational, economic and ideological work in collectives.

The cultivation in the worker of a considerate attitude toward public property and working time, conscious labor discipline and other positive qualities is more successful under the conditions of high production standards. The production engineering environment in a certain respect itself educates the worker through the entire set of conditions and factors of his labor. Just as the increase of efficiency and work quality depends on the use of social factors, so the effectiveness of social reserves and the productivity of the human factor are governed by the level of production.

Everyday practice itself should stimulate each worker to fight for efficiency and quality, the tightening up of discipline, the increase of responsibility for the assigned matter, for economy and a considerate attitude toward socialist property. The words of V. I. Lenin, which were uttered at the Third Congress of the Russian

Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), are now becoming especially topical: "Whereas previously we propagandized by common truths, now we are propagandizing by work. This is also propagation, but it is propagation by action" [1].

The educational aspect of the production engineering environment is also clearly manifested in the process of the formation of the public opinion of the collective. It is necessary to emphasize here: the problem of the evaluations of some aspects or others of the operation of an enterprise is of far from local nature. In daily activity the individual is constantly determining the conformity of an observable social phenomenon to his own ideal model of existence and comparing the real situation (the deed) with the system of social values which are being promoted (the word). The lack of conformity of word and deed does direct harm to both economic and educational work in the collective.

The rapid rate of the technical updating of production is leading to radical favorable changes in the occupational composition of the workers and in the conditions, nature and content of labor. However, these changes cover a quite lengthy interval of time. Unskilled, difficult labor, which is poor on the content level, remains and, apparently, for a long time yet may remain the daily occupation of a large number of people. The influence of scientific and technical progress on the process of labor is also ambiguous, just as its role in the formation of a positive attitude toward labor is not omnipotent. Let us take such an urgent problem as the decrease of the prestige of some occupations.

The increase of the proportion of mechanized and automated labor, unfortunately, does not always lead to an increase of the popularity of individual specialties. Thus, in the coal industry, in which in recent times the nature and the level of the technical base have changed substantially, at the same time a certain decrease of the prestige of mining occupations is occurring, especially in the eyes of young people. According to the data of a survey of workers and upper graders, which was conducted by V. A. Chulanov, only 5.1 percent of the parents employed in mines are raising their children in the spirit of respect for the labor of the miner; many stated that they do not want their children to work in the coal industry (18.1 percent). The proportion of upper graders themselves, who view mining occupations negatively, comes to about 34 percent [9]. Of course, such a picture in many ways is a consequence of specific problems in the updating of the material and technical base of the sector. However, if we examine the problem on a broader level, the increase of the prestige of certain occupations or others is an urgent task for many basic sectors of physical production. The decline observed in recent years in the appeal of a number of working specialties can be correctly appraised and explained only by taking into account the specific nature of the conditions of industrial production itself, which makes strict demands on the behavior of the worker.

The formation of a responsible attitude of a person toward labor, the cultivation of the need for labor and even more so the need for productive labor are playing a most important role in the functioning and progressive development of production. The importance of this problem may prove to be permanent owing to the limited possibilities of the technological means to achieve satisfaction with labor as a creative process.

Being a psychological phenomenon, the satisfaction with labor is formed under the influence of a number of factors, the set of which determines the possibility of realizing the needs, interests and pretensions of the individual. It is the result of the accomplishment of the goals, interests and tasks of the production organization, on the one hand, and the individual, on the other. Moreover, whereas the production engineering components remain stable usually for a long time, the goals, needs and interests of the individual are more flexible. The latter are connected not only with production conditions, but also with personal characteristics and factors external with respect to the enterprise--a change in prices for individual items, the increase of the size of the family, the increase of the level of education and so on. Moreover, the very improvement of the conditions of the organization of labor in one link of the technological chain promotes the increase of the demandingness of the worker on the other sections of production.

The characterization of the interrelationship of the production engineering environment and the behavior of the worker requires the analysis of the role and place at the enterprise of public activity and its importance in the functioning and development of production collectives.

Usually public work is regarded as an unquestionably positive factor on the economic, sociopolitical and moral levels. Indeed, if this work is taken from the point of view of the content as such, the fulfillment of certain public assignments or others is rather useful. In practice it is necessary more and more often to combine production and public functions. Therefore it should always (with the exception of cases of the performance of party and state duties) be a question of the overall return. In the case of such a statement of the question the display of activeness in some of its forms cannot be appraised as activity which promotes the high quality performance of official functions. What is meant are first of all the measures which in principle are necessary, but are implemented during working time, to the detriment of the main cause, for the sake of which the organization is being created and is operating.

As is known, in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU "On the Further Tightening Up of Labor Discipline and the Decrease of the Turnover of Personnel in the National Economy" the task is set to regulate the implementation of social measures at enterprises. The diversity of public organizations and the vast list of measures, which are being planned or are "sent down from above," simply do not make it possible not to implement them during working time. According to the data of a sample survey of sociologists at a number of Ural and Siberian enterprises, about 60 percent of the workers and 80 percent of the engineering and technical personnel perform public assignments precisely during working time [10]. The existence at an enterprise of a large number of different organizations, the imperfection of the statutes regulating the activity of each of them, parallelism in work and so on do no good either to the collective or to society.

Let us also note: often individual activeness along public lines in fact offsets the decreased (or nonexistent) return in the process of performing immediate official duties, or else in general proves to be only an imitation of social activeness. Or, on the contrary, individual managers shift to socially active people the duties which in essence they should perform themselves.



Of course, for many people public work has become just as meaningful an aspect of life as production activity. Numerous studies have repeatedly established the fact that the majority of workers conscientiously perform permanent or temporary public assignments. For example, according to the data of our survey, only 3.6 percent of the respondents stated categorically that it makes no sense to engage in public work. At the same time, although 50.3 percent of those surveyed also consider public work necessary, 46.1 percent note that it should not be performed, since this diverts people from the fulfillment of the production assignments, from studies and so on. Obviously, it is necessary to explain the social value of such work. At the same time the received responses can be rated as evidence of the low effectiveness of public activity at the given enterprise, the small importance of some public organizations and forms of public work in the system of social institutions of the enterprise.

It is worthwhile, apparently, to raise the question of changing the status and the conditions of the operation of many of the public organizations existing at enterprises and to subordinate their activity to the performance of the basic production functions. It is not ruled out that the elimination of a number of public organizations or the transfer of such work outside the enterprise to the system of trade union Houses of Culture and other nonproduction territorial organizations will be required. Some refinement of the statutes and charters, which regulate the activity of such organizations, is also necessary. In the rationalization of the formed structure of public activity an important role belongs to party organizations.

The main attention in the work of public organizations should be focused on the management of production and the effective participation of the rank and file workers in it. This task follows from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, at which, in particular, it was said: "Under present conditions the further involvement of workers, kolkhoz farmers and employees in production management and the enhancement of the role of trade unions as the most massive organization in the solution of all questions of production, the labor, daily life and relaxation of the working people are of great economic and social importance" [2]. The reserves here are enormous. According to the data of our survey of the workers of a number of industrial enterprises, 77 percent of the respondents expressed the desire to participate personally in the making of decisions on questions of the activity of the enterprise. However, only 11.8 percent of those surveyed rated their real opportunities in administration and the monitoring of the activity of management as "great," 19.4 percent consider them "average" and 27.0 percent--"few."

It seems that the problem not so much of the mass involvement of people in public work as of the improvement of the existing structure and forms of public activity, the increase of the activeness and role of each person in the solution of questions which are of fundamental importance for the increase of the efficiency of social production and the improvement of the system of relations at the enterprise is on the agenda. The elaboration of standards, which establish with respect to one works or another the limits of the desirable and permissible involvement of workers in the sphere of public activity, will obviously be required for this. Such an approach to the determination of its place and role in the system of the production organization conforms to the fundamentally important idea formulated by the party: "The economy should be economical." The reorganization of many sections and spheres of ideological work, which was outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress and at present is being actively carried out, can be effectively accomplished only on the basis of the unity of organizational, economic and ideological activity.



The analysis of the interaction of the objective physical, organizational and technical components of the enterprise with the personal factor attests to their significant role in the behavior of the worker. The lack of conceptual models of the interconnection of the various elements in the system of the production organization and of clear ideas about the social role of individual factors of production and scientific and technical progress in practice turns into mistakes in management and planning and into the imbalance of organizational, economic and ideological work. The knowledge of the peculiarities of this complex and still little studied mechanism constitutes one of the main prerequisites of the improvement of management and the increase of production efficiency, the increase of the effectiveness of ideological work in collectives and the creation of the optimum conditions for the functioning and development of the enterprise as an integral organism.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE

### SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF AN ENTERPRISE

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[Article by plant sociologist Vladimir Aleksandrovich Skripov, correspondence graduate student of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Sociological Service in the Organizational Structure of an Enterprise"]

[Text] The institutionalization of plant sociology and its transformation from an auxiliary means of social control into an independent branch of science are raising fundamental questions. The steady increase of the number of production sociologists requires the thorough analysis of the place and role of the plant sociological service in the management system of the enterprise and in the existing practice of empirical research and of the ways and means of improving its work. The activity of sociological services as a part of the more general process of the innovational development of the enterprise has still been poorly studied from both the theoretical and practical point of view. On the basis of the data of the studies, which were conducted at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, and an analysis of the literature, we will examine the questions of the efficient organization of sociological work at the enterprise, in the region and the sector.

Social planning during the past five-year plan was included in the standard methods of the technical, industrial and financial plans and became a law. Along with this many ministries, using sectorial methods, created a long time ago centralized plans of social development at all levels. Unfortunately, they are without fail being drafted and introduced even at those enterprises at which there is no sociological service. The task of rationalizing management on the basis of the use of social factors presumes an overall increase of the standards of managerial thinking. This is being achieved by means of the improvement of the structures of various subdivisions, which are involved in social management (for example, the personnel service), the revision of the official instructions of individual categories of managers, the improvement of the paper flow, the inclusion of sociological minimums in the syllabuses of the training of specialists for work in industry and so on.

The spread of sociological services at enterprises and institutions and the sharp increase of their number have raised with all urgency the problem of the qualitative composition and the training of personnel. According to the data of the sectorial card file, only 5.1 percent of the plant sociologists are specialists, that

is, have a higher sociological or psychological education (see Table 1). R. Ivanova, in particular, also cites the same data [1, p 114]. According to the data of the Soviet Sociological Association, 91.5 percent of the sociologists do not have a basic education [2, p 203]. L. Blyakhman aptly described the formed situation: "There are generals and officers, but no army. More correctly, there is an army, but it is reminiscent of a host assembled 'at random'.... There are here unselfish enthusiasts, humanitarians who have pursued scientific exotica, physicists and engineers who have been disappointed in their work" [3, p 117].

Table 1

Breakdown of Sectorial Sociologists by Specialized Education

| Specialty by education              | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Sociologists. . . . .               | 1       |
| Psychologists . . . . .             | 4       |
| Philosophers. . . . .               | 19      |
| Technical specialists . . . . .     | 15      |
| Economists. . . . .                 | 20      |
| Historians. . . . .                 | 12      |
| Philologists. . . . .               | 15      |
| Lawyers . . . . .                   | 1       |
| Others and did not respond. . . . . | 13      |

The thoughtless publicity of the effectiveness of applied sociological research and the results of its introduction at the first stages of the formation of plant sociology was conducive to the emergence of this "army." The sociological studies of the turnover of personnel, which were constructed according to the pattern: those dismissed were surveyed, the reasons were broken down into groups, percentages were calculated and a conclusion was drawn--in order to decrease the turnover, it is necessary to give people what they ask for--is a typical example. Poor, incompetent articles, which literally flooded the collections of reports of local applied science conferences, formed the opinion of the ease and simplicity of the work of the sociologist. The notion of the latter as "a man with a questionnaire in hand" [4, p 185] was formed. The inept popularization of the plant sociological service as a new sphere of the exertion of efforts for young specialists took on the traits of a genuine campaign. At a number of enterprises the staff units of sociologists (and psychologists) were included without consideration of the existing possibilities of their manning with competent specialists. Most often (see Table 2) the new positions were filled by intraplant transfers of workers from other functional subdivisions or public organizations, and at times by the attraction of workers of the regional administrative staff, school teachers and so on.

Having become an object of fashion, the sociological service was forced on organizations "from above" as a mandatory appendage to the functional staff of the enterprise, which evoked prejudice against the activity of sociologists. Uncertain about the effectiveness of the end results and not knowing the specific nature of the activity of plant sociological services, the managers often assigned to them duties which were not in keeping with their direct purpose.

The statistics show that in most instances the sociological services at enterprises are very small (see Table 3). Thus, in Leningrad 34.2 percent of the services of

enterprises have one specialist [5, p 13]. Here the sociological services do not have structural independence and are included as a component in the already existing functional subdivisions (for example, the divisions of the scientific organization of labor), while the sociologists themselves are workers of the personnel, labor and wages, economic planning divisions or the divisions of labor safety procedures [1; 15]. A survey of plant sociologists showed that they do not always realize fully enough the state of affairs and the status of the sociological service at the enterprise [1, p 114; 6, p 63; 7, p 65, 8, pp 174-176]. The inclusion of the sociological service in the division of the scientific organization of labor led to the identification of plant sociology with the scientific organization of labor.<sup>1</sup>

Table 2

Breakdown of Sectorial Sociologists According to Previous Place of Work

| Specialty at previous place of work  | Percent |
|--|---------|
| Sociologists. . . . .  | 11      |
| Psychologists . . . . .  | 4       |
| Economists. . . . .  | 23      |
| Engineers in other subdivisions of enterprise . . . . .                                | 23      |
| School teachers . . . . .  | 10      |
| Executives of soviet and public organs. . . . .  | 8       |
| Workers of scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions. . . . . | 6       |
| Others. . . . .  | 10      |
| Did not respond . . . . .  | 5       |

Table 3

Breakdown of Sectorial Sociologists by Enterprises

| Number of sociologists and psychologists | Number of enterprises, percent |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1-2. . . . .                             | 69                             |
| 3-4. . . . .                             | 22                             |
| More than 4. . . . .                     | 9                              |

The subject matter of applied research is also complicating the process of the institutionalization of plant sociology. There exists the notion of the sociologist of an enterprise as "a jack of all trades" [6, pp 61-62]. It is believed that he can solve competently and efficiently any questions of the social life of the collective. Therefore the official instructions and the Statute on the Sociological Service, as a rule, include a lengthy list of functions which cover all the main directions of the activity on social control [cf. 9, pp 98-100]. At the same time the lack of a unified data bank and methods is giving rise to hundreds and thousands of developments which duplicate each other. Here the aspiration to develop

1. Thus, for example, in a large number of textbooks and handbooks the work of sociologists is regarded as one of the directions of the scientific organization of labor.



one's own method, which differs without fail from others, became rooted in the consciousness of plant sociologists as a stereotype of thinking, as an indicator of their professional achievement. But it is well known that it is necessary to judge the utility of sociology for the national economy from the practical impact from the adoption of recommendations. Otherwise a favorable environment is created for the spread of the study of minor scientific theme, and at times entirely unnecessary work is performed.

Our study showed that the problem of the formal and informal status is very urgent for many sociological services. This is also evident in publications in which the uncertainty of the functions of sociologists is indicated. Such a circumstance leads to the emergence of distorted ideas about the content of the labor and the role of sociologists at the enterprise.

At one time V. Podmarkov indicated the low sociological culture of managerial personnel: "Unfortunately, managers, without having sociological training, have a vague idea of the peculiarities and means of the optimum solution of the social problems of industry, although arrogance and practical experience often prevent them from recognizing this shortcoming" [10, p 65]. According to the data of V. Shepel', only 29 percent of the surveyed foremen of the First Moscow Bearing Plant were able to explain clearly what the essence of the activity of sociologists is; 27 percent of the shop chiefs were not able to reveal the basic functions of social control [11, p 63]. In this connection sociologists speak about the problem of "double language," that is, a situation when mutual understanding between them and the administration is absent, since both parties use different terms and categories [12, pp 113-114].

Another widespread explanation of the failures of plant sociology is that the introduction of social methods of management is regarded as premature, if the other reserves (technical, economic, organizational) have not been completely utilized. The enterprise, according to this point of view, should "be ripe" for sociology [4, p 186].

The question of the degree of involvement of sociologists in the management process is also controversial. Some believe that their role ends at the stage of the elaboration of recommendations. Others, on the contrary, insist on the need for the participation of sociologists in all phases of management activity [4, pp 183-184; 13, p 128; 14, p 107; 15, p 198]. The need is indicated for the conducting of local concrete studies, which demonstrate the practical effectiveness of sociology and thereby contribute to the overcoming of the psychological barrier in front of social innovations [15, p 198].

It was presumed that the sociologists at an enterprise would become a staff of highly skilled consultants, who are personally subordinate to the director of the enterprise and participate as experts in making the most important decisions on the management of the labor collective. However, in practice this model was not viable for the reasons indicated above. The incorrect conception of the plant sociological service as an ordinary scientific organization has a very adverse effect. In this connection it is necessary not to limit, but to utilize the really existing trend of the concentration of the activity of sociologists within the traditional functional services and subdivisions of the enterprise. In other words, the nature

and content of the labor of plant sociologists should be determined by the subject matter of the work of the subdivision which has "adopted" them (the personnel division, the laboratory of the scientific organization of labor and so on).

The notions about the sociologist as an all-round specialist contradict the objectively existing division of the functions in the system of the social management of the enterprise. At times such a level of competence as the sphere of influence, which he never had in reality, is ascribed to him. The numerous paragraphs of the official instructions, in which the basic directions of the activity on social control are enumerated, in fact are implemented only to a negligible extent, primarily within the framework of the study of the movement of personnel, the compiling of reports on the fulfillment of the plans of social development, studies of the business qualities of personnel and so on. By the way, the opinion about the unlimited opportunities of the sociologist at times serves the administrators as a convenient reason for dodging their immediate work and for forwarding it to the sociological service. And, on the contrary, the debunking of the myth of the supernatural power of the latter gave rise to another extreme--the conclusion about sociologists' lack of an independent sphere of activity, which is at least different in some way from the activity which the functional workers of management perform. This does not always entail the elimination of the plant sociological service, most often the gradual dilution of the content of its activity occurs. In other words, sociologists are regenerated into engineers for the scientific organization of labor or inspectors of the personnel division. This is also confirmed by the data on their administrative training (see Table 4). This is what, in our opinion, explains the slow spread of sociological knowledge and methods among the workers of the management staff.

Table 4

Breakdown of Sectorial Sociologists by Subordination in the Structures of Enterprises, Percent

| Subordinate to  | Actual | Deem it expedient |
|---|--------|-------------------|
| Director. . . . .   | 9      | 29                |
| Deputy director . . . . .   | 9      | 27                |
| Chief of personnel division or division of labor and wages. . . . . | 15     | 14                |
| Chief of service of scientific organization of labor. . . . .       | 55     | 29                |
| Other managers. . . . .   | 12     | 1                 |

The authors of several works name 15-20 people as the optimum composition of the plant sociological service. However, given the personnel shortage existing in the country, this is unattainable. Some enterprises, which have set up large sociological laboratories, are by no means an example for mass imitation. V. Britvin, who believes that "the strengthening of the sociological service should be carried out not by means of consolidation, but on the basis of the intensification of its activity and the strengthening of the coordination between functional subdivisions" [16, p 75], is correct.

Our experience shows that such a subdivision of a semi-academic nature, as the plant sociological service is, as well as the uncertainty of its functions and the contradictory nature of applied and research tasks are contraindicated for the

modern enterprise. The enterprise needs narrow specialists in one field or another of the sociology of labor, who, while being on the staff of various functional subdivisions, would act all together as transmitters of sociological culture at the works. Here it is absolutely not obligatory for them to be called precisely sociologists. The question should be stated differently: the official instructions of the personnel workers, labor economists, engineers for the scientific organization of labor and other services should be reviewed centrally so as to orient enterprises toward the staffing of the subdivisions, which participate in social control, with specialists who have sociological knowledge and skills. The specialization and depth of their training should differ subject to the role performed in the system of management. For example, the sociologist-personnel worker, who has skills in working with psychodynamic tests, will find his bearings skillfully in problems of the movement of personnel; at the same time within the technological service an economist by joint appointment, who has done probationary work in special courses, for example, on the theme "The Social Consequences of the Technical Policy of an Enterprise and the Method of Their Calculation," could successfully perform the functions of a sociologist [for more detail see 16]. Thus, it is a question not of the creation of a new subdivision in the structure of the enterprise, but of the inclusion of professional methods of the sociology and psychology of labor in the practical activity of a large number of subdivisions.

In our opinion, there is no objective need for the appearance at the enterprise of another new subdivision--the sociological laboratory--since subdivisions and forms of work in all the main directions of social control already exist in the structure of the enterprise. If we examine the question of the organization of sociological work at the enterprise in the future, it is already necessary today to set the task of merging professional sociology with the practice of social control into an indivisible unity, which is possible only by means of the specialization of plant sociology.

Let us dwell on the advantages of our approach. First, the sociologist, in concentrating his attention on a limited group of problems, obtains the opportunity to deal with them systematically and competently. This promotes the organization of a specific system in work, the algorithmization of standard, reiterative situations and procedures, the development of a certain "automatism" and rhythm in scientific activity, which makes it similar to the production process.

Second, the sociologist is brought as close as possible to the objects of management, the information and the management resources. In becoming a staff member of the subdivision, he is responsible on the same level as its other workers for the overall success and, consequently, is fundamentally interested in the practical adoption of his developments. The combination in a single person of the scientist-developer and the experienced worker-organizer promotes a more critical attitude toward the scientific soundness of studies and their ultimate success.

Third, having become a kind of link in the chain of management functions, the sociologist performs those of them, which are backed by his scientific and cultural potential and formal powers. He thereby becomes an internal "detonator" of the necessary organizational and personnel changes at the enterprise.

The extremely extensive localization of the functions of social control rules out the possibility of the administrative subordination of all the subdivisions taking

part in it to one of the deputy directors, since in this case one would have to unite in a single subsystem such subdivisions, which are dissimilar in their nature, as the technological and economic services, the personnel division and the division of labor safety procedures and so on. The solution, in our opinion, lies in the creation of a matrix structure of the subordination of sociologists. Matrix structures of management are still being used in our country on a very limited basis, for the most part they are used in the system of scientific research institutes and design bureaus, when large temporary groups made up of specialists of different subdivisions, who are united by the work on a single project and are subordinate within this activity to a manager, are being set up.

The institution of advisers to the director, which has been introduced in recent times at several enterprises, could become a prototype of this type of organization. Unfortunately, in practice the adviser to the director at times turns into an ordinary secretary. Meanwhile, precisely he is called upon to perform the role of a consultant. The planning of the basic directions of the social policy of the enterprise and the activity of plant sociologists, the scientific methods supervision of all sociological developments, the editing of sociological materials and the notification of the management about questions of social development (personal reports to the director, speeches at operational conferences, technical and economic councils and so forth) should be included in the functions of the adviser for social affairs. The introduction of such a position would make it possible to attract specialists, who have academic degrees and much experience in scientific work, and would promote the attachment of talented sociologists at the works.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE OF INSTRUMENT MAKING INDUSTRY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 154-156

[Article by Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences Il'ya Grigor'yevich Stolyar, senior research associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Technological Institute of Instrument Making, and Candidate of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences Irina Vasilyevna Tarasova, senior research associate of the Sector of Sociological Research of the All-Union Scientific Research Technological Institute of Instrument Making: "The Sociological Service of a Sector"]

[Text] During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan great gains in the area of social development were achieved in instrument making--one of the most important sectors which determine the rate of technical progress in the national economy of the country. Suffice it to say that as a whole at industrial enterprises the proportion of mechanized labor increased; the number of highly skilled workers increased; their general educational level rose, the number of those employed in sections with difficult and hazardous working conditions decreased, labor discipline improved, the number of unauthorized absences from work, in particular, was reduced. The coefficient of the turnover of personnel in recent years on the average for the sector has not exceeded 13.5 percent.

A number of structural subdivisions are concerned with questions of the social planning of the sector. Here the Administration of the Organization of Labor, Wages and the Regular Labor Force carried out the general management, the Center for the Scientific Organization of Labor and Management, in which the Sector of Sociological Research is included, carries out the procedural management. There are also 14 subsectorial laboratories of the scientific organization of labor in operation, in which there are sociological groups. There are staff sociologists at many enterprises.

The drafting of "The Statute on the Sociologist at Enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automatic Equipment and Control Systems," in which the content of the activity, the rights, duties and subordination of the sociologist are specified, was an important step in the development of the sociological service. At present the sociological service is conducting research, is developing the sectorial methods base, is carrying out monitoring and reporting, is determining the economic efficiency of the measures being planned and is generalizing advanced know-how.

Let us examine in more detail each of the enumerated directions of the work. "The Procedural Instructions on the Compiling of the Long-Range Plan of the Social Development of the Collective of the Enterprise (Association)" and "Procedural Recommendations on the Organization of Efficient Sociological Work at Enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automatic Equipment and Control Systems" are the main documents, on the basis of which it is organized.<sup>1</sup> In the former the general principles of social planning and recommendations on its organization at enterprises are set forth, a uniform system of social indicators, which is mandatory for all enterprises of the sector, is cited.<sup>2</sup> In the latter the content of efficient sociological work is revealed, the advanced know-how of enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and other sectors of the national economy is reflected. The social processes, which are most important from the point of view of production efficiency and the development of the individual: the adaptation of workers, the formation of collective relations, the change of the skills level, the degree of mechanization and the conditions of the labor of workers under the influence of scientific and technical progress, the management of the labor collective, occupational mobility, the use of free time and so on, are distinguished and described in this document. Along with this the corresponding indicators, the methods of their calculation and the sources of the additional information, which is necessary for the analysis of the state of the indicated processes, are cited. At present the recommendations are being adopted at all enterprises.

The most important direction of the activity of the sociological service of the sector is the monitoring of the fulfillment of the plan of social development. It is being carried out at several stages: the obtaining of information on the results of the implementation of the plan; their comparison with the planned indicators and measures; the determination of the conformity of the dates, completeness and quality of fulfillment, the preparation of rapid information for control organs. The making of decisions, which are aimed at the elimination of the causes of the failure to fulfill what was outlined and the bringing of the results of the fulfillment of the plan of social development to the attention of the workers by means of the mass media, is included in the functions of the latter.

In conformity with the adopted system of monitoring the enterprises draw up reports on the fulfillment of the annual plans of social development and on the set date submit them to the sectorial laboratories of the scientific organization of labor, which, in turn, prepare a consolidated report for the subsector and the draft of an instructional letter on the results of the fulfillment of the annual plans. After approval at the all-union industrial association the instructional letter is sent to the enterprises of the sector, while the consolidated report is sent to the Center for the Scientific Organization of Labor and Management. The reports of the enterprises and subsectorial laboratories of the scientific organization of labor are drawn up according to a single form.<sup>3</sup>

In our opinion, the sectorial system of the recording and automated processing of data on the turnover of personnel is of interest. Information on the number of those dismissed and the reasons for dismissal with an indication of the average registered number of workers is sent quarterly from all instrument making enterprises to the Main Computer Center of the Pribor Automated Control System. The output data of the system contain the values of the coefficient of the turnover of personnel, the proportion in the group of those dismissed of various groups of

workers, who are broken down by sex, age, length of service, education, occupation, wage rates, level of the wage and reasons for dismissal. Such information helps to identify the influence of sociodemographic and occupational skills factors on the turnover of personnel, to reveal the most frequent reasons for dismissal and to determine the methods of combating them.

Sociological studies are conducted both directly by the Center for the Scientific Organization of Labor and Management or under its supervision and by the sectorial laboratories of the scientific organization of labor, as well as by enterprises independently. In recent years many urgent problems have been studied: the intensity of the plans of social development, the experience of organizing tutorship, the causes of the turnover of the regular labor force and others. A research program was prepared for the purpose of elaborating a number of sectorial social standards. Mass surveys of workers on the satisfaction with production and everyday conditions were conducted in labor collectives. The suggestions and wishes of the respondents were then used for compiling the main sections of the plan of social development.

Sectorial seminar conferences, in which plant sociologists, staff members of the services of the scientific organization of labor of enterprises and the sectorial laboratories of the scientific organization of labor and the Center for the Scientific Organization of Labor and Management participate, are playing an important coordinating role in the work of the sociological service.<sup>4</sup> At the conferences, which are held once every 2 years, advanced know-how is analyzed, the directions of the work are discussed, procedural materials are examined and the corresponding recommendations are adopted.

And, finally, there is another aspect of the activity--the determination of the economic efficiency of social planning. The relationship between the degree of fulfillment of the assignments of the plan of social development and the decrease or prevention of the turnover of personnel was the basis for our calculations. Here we proceeded on the basis that the indicators of stability and the turnover of personnel are complex and integrated and to a significant extent characterize the level of the work on the improvement of the conditions of the organization and the content of labor, housing, cultural and everyday conditions, on the improvement of wages and the education of workers, in other words, they show how effective the measures of the plan of the social development of the collective are. The method of determining the economic efficiency helps to identify the "bottlenecks" in social planning and promotes the increase of its soundness and effectiveness.

I would also like to note the cases of formalism in sociological work. Thus, the complicated and multilevel activity of the sociological service is reduced at times only to reporting and the filling out of tables. Here the positive changes in the area of social development are more the indirect result of technical, economic and other decisions, but by no means a consequence of purposeful social control.

The structure of the sociological service also needs improvement. The Division of the Social Development and Training of Personnel has already been set up at the Center for the Scientific Organization of Labor and Management. It is expedient, in our opinion, to have at every subsectorial laboratory of the scientific organization of labor not a group, but a special subdivision--a sector or laboratory of sociological research. In this connection the problem of manning enterprises with



staff sociologists is very important. At present they are available at only 20 percent of the enterprises of the sector. At the rest the functions of sociologists, as was noted above, have been assigned to the services of the scientific organization of labor, which are overloaded as it is. In our opinion, the transfer of plant sociologists from the category of administrative and management personnel to production personnel and the elaboration of standards of their number will promote the strengthening of the sociological services of enterprises and the improvement of all sociological work in the sector. The need has also arisen for the development of a model all-union statute, in which on the basis of advanced know-how the structure and functions of the sociological service in the national economy of the country would be reflected.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Along with them a number of special procedural recommendations, which are aimed at the regulation of the social processes, which are most important for the enterprises of the sector, including on the turnover of personnel, the management of the adaptation of young people and so on, have been elaborated.
2. The procedural instructions on the compiling of the plan of social development for the 11th Five-Year Plan, in the drafting of which we based ourselves on the recommendations of the AUCCTU, USSR Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, were approved in 1980.
3. At present steps are being taken for the universal introduction of an automated system of reporting. Such systems already exist at some enterprises (for example, the Kursk Schetmash Plant).
4. The following thematic collections in the series "The Sharing of Advanced Know-How in Instrument Making" were published on the basis of the materials of research and sectorial seminar conferences: "Opyt sotsiologicheskoy raboty na predpriyatiyakh priborostroyeniya" [The Experience of Sociological Work at Instrument Making Enterprises] (1975), "Puti sovershenstvovaniya raboty s molodezh'yu na predpriyatiyakh priborostroyeniya" [Means of Improving the Work With Young People at Instrument Making Enterprises] (1976), "Opyt planirovaniya sotsial'nogo razvitiya kollektivov predpriyatiy otrasli" [The Experience of Planning the Social Development of the Collectives of Enterprises of the Sector] (1977), "Puti snizheniya tekuchesti rabochikh kadrov na predpriyatiyakh priborostroyeniya" [Means of Decreasing the Turnover of the Regular Labor Force at Instrument Making Enterprises] (1978), "Organizatsiya nastavnichestva na predpriyatiyakh priborostroyeniya i puti yego dal'neyshego sovershenstvovaniya" [The Organization of Tutorship at Instrument Making Enterprises and Means of Its Further Improvement] (1980).

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FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

SOCIOECONOMIC EXPERIMENT ON THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALIST COMPETITION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 157-160

[Article by Viktor Vladimirovich Bronshteyn, chief of the Sociological Laboratory of the Irkutsk Radio Plant and graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "A Socioeconomic Experiment on the Organization of Socialist Competition"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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## ATTACHMENT OF NEWCOMERS TO LARGE WESTERN SIBERIAN CITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 160-163

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Vladimir Fedorovich Sklyarov, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Anatoliy Andreyevich Udodenko, graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Factors of the Attachment of Newcomers to Large Cities of Western Siberia"]

[Text] The solution of the problem of equalizing social differences on the territorial level [1, p 54] presumes the sociological study of migratory processes and the factors which promote the adaptability of newcomers and the stabilization of the collectives of industrial enterprises.

In undertaking the study,<sup>1</sup> we advanced the hypothesis that the analysis of the changes in the behavioral aims and the budget of time, which take place with the increase of the years lived in a given city, makes it possible to identify not only the features of the way of life of newcomers, but also the directions in which its convergence with the behavior of old residents proceeds. An index, the statistical distribution of which served as the basis of the distinction of three basic types of behavior of newcomers (further they will be designated as types A, B and C), was constructed on the basis of the information obtained with respect to three groups of indicators (the aims at adaptability, the daily and annual budgets of time). The range of change of the index is from +1.00 to -1.00. The actual fluctuations were limited to the interval: +0.390 to -0.675. The line separating the first type from the second is the value +0.035, the third type from the second--the value -0.320. The proportion of newcomers, whose behavior corresponds to the first type, is equal to 50.5 percent, the second type--32.1 percent, the third type--17.4 percent.

We had before us the task to determine: 1) how the behavior of newcomers is transformed with the passage of time; 2) what the role of the distinguished types of behavior in the system of the factors of adaptability is. The former place of residence of the respondent (city--village), his marital status and, for those who are married, their sex were taken into account in the analysis. In the entire group of respondents 57.0 percent were born in the oblast (krai), where the study was conducted, 53.3 percent were born in a village; before coming to the studied cities 32.5 percent had lived in a village, 41.1 percent were engaged in physical labor (after moving the latter figure came to 72.2 percent), 74.3 percent were

married. At the time of the survey 16.7 percent of the newcomers had lived in big cities for more than 3 years, 18.3 percent--from 2 to 3 years, 40.8 percent--less than 2 years.<sup>2</sup>

Positive values of the index correspond to the first type of behavior, which hypothetically can lead to the departure of the newcomer from the city. For example, if a person is oriented toward a high level of cultural consumption, while the city to which he comes does not provide the appropriate conditions, the likelihood that the migrant will not become a permanent resident increases. A negative value of the index characterizes a lag of needs behind the level of development of the corresponding component of the infrastructure of the city. It is possible to assume that such a situation is more conducive to the attachment of migrants to the new place than the one described above. The most complete realization of needs is characteristic of the second type of behavior, which is distinguished by greater stability than the first and owing to which a greater impact in the development of the personality of the migrant is achieved as compared with the third type.

The behavior of old residents was measured by the same method. Here it was presumed that the ratio of the proportions of the three basic types of behavior, which is characteristic of the population of old residents, is the optimum ratio, which ensures the stability of this category of the population. Therefore, a comparison of the proportion of the three types of behavior of old residents and newcomers was made in each of the groups of the population, which were distinguished on the basis of demographic characteristics (married men, married women, single people). An index, which shows the degree of coincidence of their behavior, was developed on this basis (see Tables 1 and 2). It is possible owing to it to determine the eradication or increase of the differences being studied. Thus, the first line of Table 1 shows that the newcomers, who came to the large cities of Western Siberia before 1977, are close in their behavior to the old residents. For those who arrived in 1977 the value of the index differs more, while for those who arrived after 1977 it differs even more. The increase of its absolute value indicates an increase of the differences in the behavior of newcomers and old residents, the minus sign indicates only the trend of the differences.

The analysis of the tables makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the tendency toward convergence with the behavior of old residents is observed only for 5 of the distinguished 18 groups of migrants, namely: family men (who came from both the city and the village), whose behavior corresponds to the first type; family men and women, who came from cities and adhere to the second type of behavior; family men, who came from cities and adhere to the third type of behavior.

The determination of the interrelationship of the socioeconomic conditions of the vital activity in the studied cities and the behavior of newcomers and the determination of the place and role of the latter among the other factors of adaptability were included in the task of the next stage of the study. The primary information, which concerns such spheres as labor, daily life and culture (within them nine directions were distinguished; see Table 3), was obtained from the materials of the statistical reporting of city (kray, oblas') soviets of people's deputies and several departments. Then the indicators of the socioeconomic development of the city were calculated on its basis [2, 3, 4, 5, 6]. As a result we obtained a synthetic indicator of the conditions of the vital activity of newcomers.<sup>3</sup> Three subsystems of indices: common indices for the studied industrial enterprises, for



the large cities of Western Siberia, for the cities of the Altay and Kuzbass, were constructed on the basis of the set of indicators of the socioeconomic conditions (see Tables 3 and 4).

Table 1

Typology of the Behavior of Newcomers Who Came From Cities, Index\*

| Groups of newcomers | Type of behavior | Time of arrival |       |            |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------|------------|
|                     |                  | before 1977     | 1977  | after 1977 |
| Family men          | A                | -0.04           | +0.11 | -0.14      |
|                     | B                | +0.05           | +0.07 | +0.28      |
|                     | C                | -0.02           | -0.33 | -0.17      |
| Family women        | A                | -0.15           | -0.03 | -0.02      |
|                     | B                | -0.02           | +0.02 | -0.06      |
|                     | C                | +0.30           | +0.01 | +0.10      |
| Single people       | A                | -0.16           | -0.05 | -0.13      |
|                     | B                | +0.24           | -0.09 | +0.06      |
|                     | C                | +0.24           | +0.25 | +0.30      |

\* A plus sign means in this case that the proportion of one or another basic type of behavior of newcomers is less than the proportion of this type of behavior among old residents. A minus sign means the inverse relationship.

Table 2

Typology of the Behavior of Newcomers Who Came From Rural Areas, Index

| Groups of newcomers | Type of behavior | Time of arrival |       |            |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------|------------|
|                     |                  | before 1977     | 1977  | after 1977 |
| Family men          | A                | -0.01           | -0.16 | -0.09      |
|                     | B                | +0.27           | +0.20 | +0.12      |
|                     | C                | -0.39           | +0.08 | -0.02      |
| Family women        | A                | -0.28           | -0.28 | -0.02      |
|                     | B                | +0.18           | +0.26 | -0.16      |
|                     | C                | +0.44           | +0.31 | +0.31      |
| Single people       | A                | -0.12           | -0.04 | -0.05      |
|                     | B                | -0.19           | -0.19 | -0.15      |
|                     | C                | +1.00           | +0.44 | +0.40      |

The significance of the indices cited in the tables consists in the fact that they demonstrate clearly what factors promote the attachment of newcomers and what ones, on the contrary, make it difficult. Moreover, in the first column of Tables 3 and 4 the factors common to all the cities of Kemerovskaya Oblast and Altayskiy Kray are singled out; in the second--those common to all the large cities of Western Siberia; in the third--those common to the studied enterprises of large cities. The coefficient of multiple correlation was calculated for the purpose of identifying the dependence of the expenditures of time of newcomers on the level of development of objective conditions and the reverse dependence--the influence of changes in behavior on the dynamics of the values which characterize the socioeconomic conditions. It shows that the group of factors of adaptability, which is common to

the cities of the Altay and Kuzbass, plays a leading role in the formation of the basic types of behavior. Then follow the factors characteristic of the large cities of Western Siberia, and further those characteristic of the studied industrial enterprises of these cities.

Table 3

Level of Development of Infrastructure in Places of Residence of Newcomers, Index

| Components of infrastructure     | Values of indicators in 1975-1978 |                                    |                        |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
|                                  | in cities of Altay and Kuzbass    | in large cities of Western Siberia | at studied enterprises |
| Cultural institutions. . . . .   | -0.28                             | -0.70                              | -0.26                  |
| Educational institutions . . .   | -0.12                             | -0.31                              | -0.13                  |
| Housing conditions . . . . .     | -0.12                             | -0.12                              | -0.08                  |
| Personal services. . . . .       | -0.13                             | +0.02                              | -0.13                  |
| Structure of personal services   | -0.21                             | -0.01                              | -0.13                  |
| Retail commodity turnover. . .   | -0.01                             | +0.10                              | -0.17                  |
| Preschool institutions . . . .   | -0.19                             | +0.06                              | -0.07                  |
| Medical institutions . . . . .   | +0.14                             | +0.05                              | -0.16                  |
| Industrial enterprises . . . . . | -0.01                             | -0.19                              | -0.12                  |

Table 4

Indicators of Social Development of Studied Regions, Index

| Indicator                      | Values of indicators in 1975-1978 |                                    |                        |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
|                                | in cities of Altay and Kuzbass    | in large cities of Western Siberia | at studied enterprises |
| Sphere of culture. . . . .     | -0.37                             | -0.86                              | -0.18                  |
| Sphere of education. . . . .   | +0.03                             | +0.17                              | -0.06                  |
| Sphere of preschool education. | -0.19                             | -0.08                              | -0.09                  |
| Housing conditions . . . . .   | -0.29                             | -0.92                              | -0.13                  |
| Sphere of living conditions. . | -0.40                             | -1.59                              | -0.17                  |
| Rationalization and invention. | -0.06                             | -0.14                              | -0.01                  |
| Wages. . . . .                 | +0.04                             | +0.12                              | -0.10                  |
| Labor productivity . . . . .   | +0.11                             | -0.02                              | -0.20                  |

Thus, first of all the inadequate level of the development of institutions of culture and the structure of personal service is complicating the process of the adaptability of newcomers in the large cities of Western Siberia. The role of the basic types of behavior, which both promote the stabilization of migrants and make it difficult, is determined first of all by factors which are common to all the cities of the region, and then by factors which are common to large cities. The functioning of the types of behavior (as factors of adaptability) merits special study.

As was already noted, only 5 of the 18 groups of newcomers are converging in their behavior with old residents. The opposite trend is observed for 13 groups. This

fact implies the need to implement a series of measures which are aimed at the stabilization of those coming to the cities of Western Siberia.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The study was conducted in 1979 in Anzhero-Sudzhensk, Belovo, Biysk, Kiselevsk, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy and Rubtsovsk. People over the age of 16, who had lived in a city less than 8 years (in all 560 people), were grouped with the newcomers, those who had lived in a city more than 8 years (177 people over the age of 16) were grouped with the old residents. The estimated error of the sample does not exceed 0.97.
2. The total number of surveyed newcomers and old residents is taken as 100 percent.
3. The calculation was made according to the formula:  $J_y = (a-b)/(a+b)$ , where a is the value of the indicator for the given city (group of studied cities), b is the value of the indicator for the country as a whole. Thus, in Tables 3 and 4 the minus sign means that some conditions or others in the city (cities) are worse than on the average for the country, the plus sign means the reverse relationship.

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## USE OF WORKING TIME AT MOSCOW OBLAST ENTERPRISES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 164-166

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Anatoliy Ivanovich Volgin, chairman of the Moscow Oblast Committee of People's Control: "The Use of Working Time at Moscow Oblast Enterprises"]

[Text] In September-October 1981 the Moscow Oblast Committee of People's Control jointly with the committees, groups and posts of the People's Control of enterprises of the oblast conducted a mass purposeful check of the use of working time in the labor collectives. About 7,000 People's Controllers, research associates of scientific research institutes and workers of the plant divisions of the scientific organization of labor participated in it. The check was of a comprehensive nature. In all more than 70 percent of all the production collectives of the oblast were covered by it, and in 245 of them, along with the analysis of the data of statistical reporting on special forms, sociological studies and instantaneous observations (the registration of the specific employment of the workers during a specific period) were conducted. Moreover, more than 33,000 written suggestions of the workers on the improvement of the use of working time were received.

As is known, the losses of working time at enterprises of the country are quite significant. According to the available data, they come to 10-15 percent. In some sectors of industry this indicator is even higher; for example, in machine building the intrashift idle times alone lead to losses of 12-15 percent of the nominal available amount of working time.

The results of the instantaneous observations make it possible to assert: at the studied enterprises the working time is also not being used effectively enough.<sup>1</sup>

As a whole for the oblast (see Table 1) among those working during the first shift 90.8 percent were busy with their immediate duties, during the second and third shifts--90.6 and 84.9 percent respectively. In other words, the third shift accounts for the greatest losses of time.

The analysis of the hourly data, which are presented in the same table, show: the most people were at their workplaces during the third hour of work. Apparently, for many of those surveyed it has become the norm to begin the workday without hurrying and not to join immediately in the intense rhythm. By the end of the day, as a rule, the cases of violations of labor discipline become more frequent, which also leads to additional losses of working time.



Table 1

| Use of Working Time at Moscow Oblast Enterprises Subject to Shift and Hour of Work, Percent |                      |       |      |         |                  |       |      |         |  |       |      |         |
|---|----------------------|-------|------|---------|------------------|-------|------|---------|--|-------|------|---------|
| Shift   | Were engaged in work |       |      |         | Were not working |       |      |         | Hard to determine what they were busy with |       |      |         |
|   | hour of shift        |       |      |         | hour of shift    |       |      |         | hour of shift                              |       |      |         |
|   | first                | third | last | average | first            | third | last | average | first                                      | third | last | average |
| I   | 90.9                 | 91.6  | 89.8 | 90.8    | 4.9              | 4.5   | 5.8  | 5.0     | 4.2  | 3.9   | 4.3  | 4.2     |
| II  | 90.8                 | 90.6  | 90.6 | 90.6    | 5.0              | 4.9   | 5.2  | 5.1     | 4.4  | 4.3   | 4.2  | 4.3     |
| III   | 84.0                 | 85.9  | 86.8 | 84.9    | 6.0              | 8.0   | 5.9  | 6.3     | 8.0  | 5.9   | 6.2  | 6.3     |

Table 2

| Use of Working Time at Moscow Oblast Enterprises Subject to Sector of Industry, Percent |                      |       |      |                  |       |       |  |         |       |       |      |         |
|---|----------------------|-------|------|------------------|-------|-------|--|---------|-------|-------|------|---------|
| Sector of industry  | Were engaged in work |       |      | Were not working |       |       | Hard to determine what they were busy with |         |       |       |      |         |
|   | hour of shift        |       |      | hour of shift    |       |       | hour of shift                              |         |       |       |      |         |
|   | first                | third | last | average          | first | third | last                                       | average | first | third | last | average |
| Machine building  | 91.0                 | 91.1  | 88.2 | 89.7             | 4.6   | 6.4   | 5.5  | 5.5     | 3.7   | 4.8   | 4.9  | 4.8     |
| Chemical  | 88.3                 | 90.1  | 88.3 | 88.8             | 5.7   | 5.0   | 6.1  | 5.5     | 6.0   | 4.9   | 5.6  | 5.7     |
| Textile   | 92.6                 | 92.9  | 92.7 | 92.7             | 4.5   | 4.0   | 4.3  | 3.2     | 3.2   | 3.3   | 3.5  | 3.4     |
| Construction materials  | 82.2                 | 84.3  | 84.1 | 83.6             | 12.0  | 9.3   | 9.3  | 10.2    | 5.8   | 6.4   | 6.7  | 6.2     |
| Food  | 92.5                 | 95.8  | 95.6 | 94.2             | 3.5   | 4.3   | 3.5  | 3.7     | 4.7   | 3.4   | 4.6  | 4.2     |
| Local   | 91.6                 | 94.1  | 95.1 | 94.1             | 2.5   | 3.1   | 1.2  | 2.3     | 5.9   | 2.7   | 3.6  | 4.0     |

The data on the individual sectors (Table 2) attest to shortcomings in the organization of labor at enterprises of the chemical and construction materials industries. The situation is better at textile combines and factories. The specific nature of the production technology, as well as the fact that the majority of workers are women, who are more disciplined and organized, apparently have an effect here.

Such are the results of the instantaneous observation, which, however, only establishes the actual losses of time, without revealing their causes. A survey of workers according to a special questionnaire was conducted for ascertaining the latter and identifying the reserves of the increase of labor productivity. About 30,000 workers, who were selected by the method of random mechanical sampling, were surveyed, which amounts to more than 10 percent of the total number of those employed at the enterprises covered by the check.<sup>2</sup>

In the opinion of the majority of respondents (63.4 percent), irregularities in the delivery of raw materials, materials and blanks are one of the main causes of the losses of working time. In all 26.4 percent of all those surveyed consider the lack of tools to be one of the causes of not being busy, and at enterprises of machine building, light and the textile industries, as well as the construction materials industry this indicator is 2.5-fold greater than the average. Some 9.9 percent of the entire sampled population indicated the untimely issuing of assignments (orders), but at enterprises of the chemical and local industries 16-17 percent of those surveyed noted this factor. Most often the losses of working time as a result of the repair and adjustment of equipment occur in collectives of the food (respectively 42.3 and 31.9 percent), local (40.3 and 34.6 percent) and the construction materials industry (39.7 and 29.6 percent). It is characteristic that twice as many workers of category II named this cause than workers of category VI. Apparently, low-skilled workers during the period of the repair and adjustment of equipment are forced to be idle more due to the lack of knowledge of related occupations and the impossibility of being attached to other sections. As the study showed, along with the enumerated factors, social factors are among the most important factors which influence the efficiency of the use of working time. Nearly half of those surveyed in Stupinskiy and Kashirskiy Rayons noted, for example, that the losses of time are often connected with the unsatisfactory operation of enterprises of public dining, the sphere of service and trade. People have to eat lunch during working time ("inconvenient hours of the operation of dining rooms"), go to personal service workshops and shop at stores ("they close early"), go to medical institutions ("there is no outpatient clinic, first aid station at the plant"), housing administrations, the savings bank, the passport desk, which are also open during inconvenient hours for workers. The losses of time in many ways depend on transportation (under the conditions of the Moscow area, motor and rail transport). The majority of instances of late arrivals and early departure are explained by the fact that it is often difficult to get from home to the enterprise and back, first of all during peak hours. The proportion of those who noted the unsatisfactory operation of transportation is especially great among those employed in the chemical industry (55.7 percent), which is explained by the remoteness of the enterprises from housing tracts.

The comparison of the data of the written questionnaire with the written suggestions of the workers revealed their nearly complete identity. The organizational, economic and social measures on reducing the losses of working time are being set on the basis of the obtained materials.<sup>3</sup>

The results of the check were discussed at meetings of the party and economic aktiv and at conferences of the secretaries of the party organizations of industrial enterprises, trade, public dining and personal service of the oblast. In a number of suburban Moscow cities the business hours of the services of the executive committees of the city soviet have already been changed, which will make it possible to cut down substantially on the man-days.

Special spot checks of People's Controllers, who are directing special attention to the solution of those problems which were identified during the sociological study--the supply of raw materials, materials, blanks and tools, the observance of the schedules for the lunch break, the improvement of the operation of dining rooms and so on--are being made in the main production shops and other subdivisions.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The instantaneous observations were made during the first, third and last hours of each shift, which made it possible to trace the dynamics of the use of working time during the day in both basic and ancillary production. The results were recorded on a special card in conformity with the handbook, in which a clear specification of the situation, which defines concretely the actions of the recorder, was given. There were noted in the columns of the card: a) the number of those engaged in work; b) the number of those not working; c) the number of vague cases, when the observer found it hard to characterize the actions of the subject.
2. Among the respondents 53.7 percent are women and 46.3 percent are men. Of those surveyed, 39.6 percent have an elementary and incomplete secondary education, 45.3 percent have a secondary general and secondary vocational and technical education, 12.6 percent have a secondary specialized education. For 11 percent of the respondents the total length of service is 1-3 years, for 9.2 percent--4-5 years, for 17 percent--6-10 years and for 54.5 percent--10 years. In all 27.1 percent of the respondents are of category I, 7.5 percent--category II, 21.8, 21.8, 20.3 and 6.9 percent--respectively categories III, IV, V and VI.
3. It should be said that the very fact of the conducting of such a study by the organs of the People's Control had a definite positive effect. When we compared the data for October 1981 with the data of October 1980, it turned out: at 402 enterprises the losses of time had been reduced by 15.8 percent, and the full-day and intrashift losses were reduced by 32.9 and 26.1 percent respectively, the losses from unauthorized absences from work were 13.6 percent, from leaves with permission of the administration--14 percent. The extensive publicity of the check and the rapid information of the workers about the results of the survey undoubtedly played an important role in this.

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## PUBLIC ACTIVENESS OF YOUNG WORKERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 166-168

[Article by Irina Aleksandrovna Sosunova, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Public Activeness of Young Workers"]

[Text] Participation in public activity is an important factor of the formation of an active position of the individual in life. The conducted study<sup>1</sup> showed that 62.4 percent of the respondents perform public assignments at the place of work. The majority of them are experienced workers, 61.5 percent have worked at the given enterprise for more than 10 years. In all 30 percent of those surveyed explain their participation in public activity by the aspiration to justify the trust of the collective, 20 percent--by duty to one's comrades, 18 percent--by interest in working with people, 13 percent--by the desire to combat existing shortcomings more actively. The survey showed that 28 percent of the respondents have three or more assignments, while 29.2 percent of those surveyed up to the age of 20 in practice are not covered by public activity.

The study made it possible to establish that only a third of all those surveyed are completely satisfied with the activity of public organizations on the education of the members of the collective. In particular, it was found that during the year 25 percent of the surveyed communists, 33 percent of the candidate members of the CPSU and nearly 50 percent of the Komsomol members and nonparty people did not report on this item.

Workers 31-40 years old participate most actively in the social life of the enterprise (see the table). This group also performs the most responsible assignments (work on election commissions, the maintenance of public order and so forth).

Speeches at meetings are an important type of public activity. The study showed that CPSU members (71.1 percent) take an especially active part in the work of

1. A survey of 785 people at 20 industrial enterprises of Ivanovo was conducted in 1981 by the Sector of Sociological Studies of the Work of Public Organizations of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A four-stage territorial production quota sample was used. The size of the sample at each stage is: I--5 sectors of industry; II--20 industrial enterprises; III--87 primary production collectives; IV--785 people. An adjustment of the sample was not made.



meetings. The percentage of speakers is also high among candidate members of the CPSU--73 percent. However, among Komsomol members this indicator was only 30 percent. The majority of speeches contain criticism of shortcomings, but, as is known, the effectiveness of criticism is determined first of all by the taking of constructive steps. To the question "Do you know what the result of your critical speeches is?" 30 percent of the respondents answered that the shortcomings had been partially eliminated, 13 percent answered negatively, 11.4 percent believe that the shortcomings were not eliminated at all, and only 3 percent of those surveyed stated that as a result of their critical speeches the shortcomings had been completely eliminated.

Performance of Public Assignments by Workers of Different Ages, Percent

| Type of public activity  | Age, years |       |       |       |       |         | Total |
|--|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
|  | up to 20   | 21-25 | 26-30 | 31-40 | 41-55 | over 55 |       |
| Participation in voluntary Saturdays, Sundays. . . . .   | 68.2       | 83.3  | 82.9  | 86.2  | 75.5  | 77.2    | 80.3  |
| Participation in preparation for and holding of elections to soviets of people's deputies. . . . . | 7.3        | 11.6  | 6.8   | 19.5  | 15.8  | 13.8    | 14.5  |
| Participation in maintenance of public order . . . . .   | 17.0       | 28.3  | 29.9  | 29.7  | 26.7  | 18.1    | 27.5  |
| Participation in amateur artistic work, sports section .   | 19.5       | 13.3  | 10.8  | 7.1   | 3.2   | 5.5     | 8.4   |
| Work with difficult adolescents . . . . .  | 2.4        | 3.3   | 3.4   | 3.1   | 6.3   | 4.5     | 4.0   |
| Patronage of Pioneers and school pupils . . . . .  | 2.3        | 0.8   | 2.7   | 0.8   | 1.3   | 0.0     | 1.4   |
| Other assignments . . . . .  | 0.0        | 0.0   | 0.6   | 0.4   | 2.2   | 0.0     | 0.8   |

Socialist competition is an important factor of the formation of an active position in life. In all 83.4 percent of those surveyed participate in it. At the same time only 56.6 percent of the participants are acquainted with the conditions and indicators of socialist competition, 27 percent know these conditions incompletely, they are completely unknown to about 5 percent of those surveyed.

The problem of increasing the sociopolitical activeness of working women is especially urgent for the industrial enterprises of Ivanovo. With the creation of favorable conditions at the enterprise and in daily life women participate in the social life of the enterprises. In all 64.1 percent of those surveyed perform various public assignments, while 26.1 percent of them have more than three assignments. In a number of types of public activity considerably greater activeness is characteristic for women than for men. Thus, they participate 2.5-fold more often in evenings and meetings, which are held in the collectives, perform work with difficult adolescents threefold more often and participate in amateur artistic work 1.3-fold more often.

It is easy to predict how much the social life of labor collectives would gain, if personal service were to save with greater effectiveness the time which women spend now on keeping house.

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## LABOR EFFICIENCY OF RETIREES IN TATARSKAYA ASSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 168-170

[Article by Vladimir Gershevich Blufard, senior research associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Labor Protection (Kazan'): "On the Question of the Labor Efficiency of Retirees"]

[Text] In the Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990 the task is set to increase "the opportunities for the participation of retirees in national labor. To improve the forms of the material stimulation of the work of able-bodied retirees" [1]. Among all old-age retirees as of 1 January 1978 26.4 percent continued to work [2]. In the Tatar republic this indicator is even lower--24.3 percent (on 1 January 1980).

A survey of retirees living in the Tatarskaya ASSR was conducted by the author for the purpose of ascertaining the possibilities and conditions of the more efficient use of the labor of this category of the population.<sup>1</sup>

When enlisting retirees in labor activity, it is necessary to try to see to it that from an economic standpoint their labor would be efficient. However, a number of objective difficulties arise when working on this problem.

We obtained information on the fulfillment or exceeding of the output norms by working retirees at only 32.5 percent of the enterprises; at the rest either the norms are not being fulfilled by the retirees or the corresponding information was not offered at all. Apparently, the lack of a uniform method of evaluating the economic efficiency of the labor of retirees, which is convenient to use, has an effect here. This is the first thing.

Second, a follow-up (according to the materials of factory and plant documents) study, which was conducted at 12 enterprises, showed: as a rule, at the plants, where responses to the question about the labor productivity of retirees were not received, shortcomings exist in the registration of the retirement of people and in the organization of their subsequent work.

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1. In all 24.2 percent of the working old-age retirees, who are employed in all the sectors of the economy (except agriculture), were covered by a thorough and sample survey at 114 enterprises of the republic.

It is a question first of all of the system of crediting the amount of the pension according to the average wage during the period directly preceding retirement. Some types of brigade bonuses or additional awards are made out to a significant number of people, the skills category is increased, or they are converted to another wage rate. However, frequently after the official registration of the pension a person changes his mind about retiring (in our study 50.7 percent were such people). Accordingly his total income (pension and wages) increases to an amount which exceeds the wages which he has received in recent years. Moreover, the wages change from the main source of income to an additional source; its significance as a material stimulus decreases. While continuing to work at the same workplace, the retiree decreases labor productivity by such an amount so that the wages would not exceed the "permissible" proportion in the total amount "pension plus wages" (300 rubles) and thereby the amount of the pension--the guaranteed portion of the income--would not be decreased. In other words, the stimulating role of the pension of the working retiree turns into its opposite.

This situation can be eliminated, if the amount of total income of the working retiree ("pension and wages") is not limited, which requires a change first of all in the legal norms and instructions, which exist on this account.

The possibility of receiving a pension and wages is forcing many retirees to continue working at the former place, which is often connected with harmful production. In our study about 54.5 percent were such people; as a whole nearly one in three retirees retired with special benefits. The continuation of the labor activity of elderly people in harmful jobs worsens their health. The introduction of some restrictions with respect to age or length of service for hazardous and harmful jobs is obviously necessary. Incidentally, intensive labor activity for the purpose of increasing the amount of the pension leads to excessive strain, and as a consequence also adversely affects the health of retirees. The materials of the studies of the Laboratory of Physiology and Labor Hygiene of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Labor Protection of the AUCCTU in Kazan' attest: the sick rate with temporary disability of people of preretirement age, especially among those working during the last year before retirement, is considerably higher than in all other groups of workers.

Undoubtedly, the proper determination of the place of the use of the labor of people at preretirement age and their psychological and occupational preparation for the new stage in life will make it possible to ensure the greatest economic and, in the end, social efficiency of the labor of retirees. This requires the performance of much educational, explanatory and organizational work both by soviet and economic organs and by trade union organs.

The practice of compiling lists of occupations and positions liable to preferential replacement with retirees and the disabled, which has become quite widespread in recent times, as a rule, is of a formal nature. The same occupation at different enterprises can involve different working conditions, which at times are not suitable for retirees. The use of retirees in individual types of jobs in the sphere of personal service, trade and others affords great opportunities in this respect. At the same time the data of our studies attest that the need for various types of auxiliary workers, foremen of on-the-job training and so forth is also great not only here, but also in the sphere of physical production. The performance by highly skilled specialists, which retirees usually are, of the role of consultants

(on the condition of a partial workday) could both be economically profitable for the state and promote the maintenance of the social activeness of retirees and their good physical condition.

At the same time the study shows: economic and trade union organs are still not doing everything in this direction. As a rule, in their activity they are not performing special work with retirees and are not taking into account the specific nature of this sociodemographic group.

The activity aimed at stimulating the social activeness of retirees can be broken down into several directions: production, social, material, preventive medical and sociopolitical. According to the materials of the study, the main attention is being devoted to preventive medical measures (they are 33.8 percent) and the least is being devoted to measures of a production nature (4.0 percent). Moreover, the conducting of interviews with people of preretirement age and the granting to retirees of leaves without the retention of wages predominate in the latter case. The cases of the creation of the conditions for work with a partial workday or the special monitoring of the working conditions of retirees are isolated. The following information on this account was obtained: only 0.7 percent to the total number of respondents work at home, in special shops and specially manned brigades. Various forms of activity with partial working time (up to 2 months a year, seasonally, by joint appointment, with a partial workday or work week) have become somewhat more widespread (7.9 percent).

In the group of measures of a material nature the allocation of material assistance, construct materials, the free repair of apartments and so forth are primarily being used in practice. The system of social measures, which hold second place in the system of the activity of economic and trade union organs following preventive medical measures, is most diverse. However, the social program is frequently reduced precisely to the latter.

The analysis of the materials of the studies leads to the conclusion about the lack locally of a uniform system in the work of economic and trade union organs on creating for retirees the conditions which encourage them to continue labor activity and about the inadequate attention to its social aspects. For the more efficient use of the labor of retirees it is necessary, first, to improve the legal norms (including to draft a uniform statute on work at home, a statute on partial working time for retirees); the procedure of the official registration of the pension and the continuation of work after retirement. Second, special sections, which provide for the creation of the most favorable working conditions (up to special workplaces) for elderly people, should be included in the plans of the social development of labor collectives, a set of measures of a social and health improvement nature should be elaborated and implemented.

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## CONFLICTS IN THE LABOR COLLECTIVE

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[Article by Viktorin Ivanovich Sin'kov, senior engineer of the Division of the Scientific Organization of Labor of the Gor'kiy Krasnyy Dvigatel' Diesel Plant: "Conflicts in the Labor Collective"]

[Text] The problem of labor conflicts is of great importance for the planning of the social development of production collectives. Undoubtedly, conflict situations are factors which disorganize the labor process. At the same time a flexible approach is needed when examining this question. In our opinion, conflicts can play at the works both a negative and a positive role. On the one hand, they complicate interpersonal relations in the collective and promote the turnover of personnel and, on the other, aid the improvement of the organization of labor and the elimination of shortcomings. Being aimed at the achievement of socially important goals, they attest to the increase of the social activeness of the workers. When studying each conflict situation<sup>1</sup> we analyzed all its basic stages: the preconflict stage, the conflict as such and its resolution. It was established that male workers of categories 3-6 and 29-40 years of age, who have a secondary and a secondary specialized education, predominate among the disputing parties.

Let us examine the causes of conflicts. In all 469 disagreements of different types, which arose in connection with the poor organization of labor and production, in which 38.3 percent of those surveyed were involved, were registered. Among them are workers and engineering and technical personnel, for the most part men. Most often the following issues caused the conflicts: the distribution of lump-sum bonuses for the introduction of new equipment, for victory in socialist competition (18.5 percent); the use of engineering and technical personnel in an unskilled, low-paid job (16 percent); the failure to observe the labor safety regulations (15.9 percent). The conflicts connected with the low level of the cultural and personal service of the workers of the plant occupy a significant place. On these issues 343 conflict situations were registered, in which 28 percent of those surveyed were involved, the majority of them are women. Moreover, the questions of the allocation of housing (17.1 percent), the style of management (15.2 percent), the

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1. The study was conducted in 1975-1980 at the Order of the Labor Red Banner Krasnyy dvigatel' Diesel Plant (Gor'kiy) with the assistance of the Chair of Scientific Communism of Gor'kiy State University and the Chair of Philosophy of Gor'kiy Polytechnical Institute. More than 1,220 people were surveyed.

inadequate adherence of trade union organs to principle when defending the rights of the working people (9.8 percent) and the suppression of criticism (5.4 percent) aroused pointed debates.

When studying the conflicts in labor collectives their direction is of great importance. The survey showed that differences arise most often among the managers of the middle level--the chiefs of shops and divisions and their deputies (first, second and third places), and among the conflicting parties there are mainly employees and junior service personnel (39.5 percent), as well as workers (32.2 percent). The conflicts with the administration of the section (senior foremen, the managers of the bureaus in the divisions) hold second place; among the conflicting parties workers constitute a significant portion (22.4 percent). The labor disputes of the management of the plant with subordinates are in third place (16.5 percent). Conflicts with fellow workers held fourth place in our study: the highest level of conflict is observed in the group of engineering and technical personnel (25.5 percent). The labor disputes with public organizations holds fifth place.

Thus, for the most part the differences arise due to shortcomings in the organization of labor and production. Moreover, the complaints are lodged, as a rule, against managers of the middle level.

During a follow-up study it was ascertained that only 48.8 percent of the conflicts ended in the complete or partial reconciliation of the parties, which attests to the inadequate attention of the administration and public organizations to the resolution of conflict situations. All this points to the need for a constructive approach to the settlement of conflicts and the consideration of their causes and direction. A sociological bureau, which elaborates recommendations on the improvement of the sociopsychological climate in the shops and divisions, was set up in the party committee of the plant for this purpose.

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## MUSLIM RELIGIOUS VESTIGES

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[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Ablakul Bazarovich Bazarov, head of the Chair of Philosophy of Samarkand State University imeni A. Navoy: "The Features of Muslim Religious Vestiges (Based on Data of a Poll in Samarkandskaya Oblast)"]

[Text] A certain portion of the rural population of Central Asia is under the influence of Islam: they have religious objects in their homes and practice certain rituals. In our oblast profound believers make up 2.3 percent of the population.<sup>1</sup> That is, of course, a small figure, but nonetheless even such an insignificant contingent of believers promotes the preservation, reproduction, as well as the spread of religious views. It was established that 64.2 percent of the surveyed rural dwellers consider themselves nonreligious, and of these more than half are atheists, while 25.4 percent are indifferent to religion. It is this last group that is the main source of the reproduction of the religious psychology.

Sociological research data once again show convincingly that religious vestiges have been almost completely eradicated in the production and labor sphere of activity. Some 80.4 percent of the population employed in the sphere of social production consider themselves atheists, while that indicator was only 21.6 percent among nonworking people. There is an undoubted link between social activeness and the level of religious belief among the population. It is noteworthy that 95.4 percent of the respondents constantly participating in social activity are atheists, while nearly half of those not taking part in social activity are religious.

At the same time the surveys show that the process of freeing rural workers from the influence of religion has not been completed. The main repositories of religious beliefs are older people: 69.2 percent of the believers are over the age of 50. There is some effect from the predominance in agricultural production of unskilled labor and the associated low educational and cultural standard among the population. Some 89.7 percent of the surveyed believers had little education.

Belief in Allah is the starting point of Islamic dogma. The believers' attitude toward the doctrine of Allah's omnipotence is not uniform. Many people verbally

1. In all, about 2,800 city dwellers and 4,500 rural dwellers in Samarkandskaya Oblast were surveyed. A sample of this size ensures the necessary representativeness for the oblast as a whole.

acknowledge divine providence, but deny it in practice, relying more on their own capabilities and retaining some freedom of action. Only 15.7 percent of the believers are convinced of the predetermination of man's destiny. Another important criterion of religious belief is a belief in life after the grave. Despite the fact that the dogma of the "next world" is a basic tenet of Islam, only 15 percent of the believers in the countryside and 10 percent in the cities believe in the existence of life after death.

Traditional rites and customs occupy a significant place in the life of the modern religious Central Asian peasant. Funerals hold a special place among these rites and customs. It is well known that the funeral ritual has undergone far fewer changes than other elements in rural life. The clergy do everything to "protect" this rite and skillfully associate it with the believers' religious feelings. It is no accident that among peasants the performance of burial and funeral rites is, with rare exceptions, linked with religious practices.

One indicator of the prevalence of religious psychology among the population is pilgrimages to so-called holy places--the tombs and mausoleums of historical and mythical figures in Islam, as well as "miraculous" mountains, ravines, springs of various kinds and so forth. Central Asia has many such places to which people make pilgrimages on religious holidays and days of mourning. Thanks to explanatory work, visits to "holy places" have been reduced significantly in recent years. At the same time the force of tradition is still making itself felt here.

Religious practices are not infrequently passed off as harmless family customs. To some extent the reproduction of religion takes place with their help. Of the 1,168 fourth-year students polled in all faculties of Samarkand State University imeni A. Navoy, 9.4 percent replied that they have hitherto been subjected to influence from religious members of the family.

The many centuries of Islam's domination in Central Asia meant that many rites became customary, became fixed in people's consciousness and interwoven with customs, and are current to our day in the form of popular traditional forms of life style that are observed not only by believers, but also by many nonbelievers. It is characteristic that rites are sometimes preserved by force of habit, without a clear understanding of their religious significance.

That is why particular attention must be devoted to renewing the ritual side of life by means of the gradual, well-conceived formation of new customs, rites and festivals, of which family traditions would form an integral part. Practice shows that the rejection of old customs and the exposure of their religious essence are not effective enough in themselves unless new rites are persistently established.

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#### INFLUENCE OF FANS ON PARTICIPATION IN PHYSICAL CULTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 173-175

[Article by Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences Oleg Aleskandrovich Mil'shteyn, docent of the State Central Institute of Physical Culture, and Sergey Vital'yevich Molchanov, graduate student of the Belorussian State Institute of Physical Culture: "The Influence of Fan Activity on Familiarization With the Pursuit of Physical Culture"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

#### METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

##### RELIABILITY OF SOCIOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 176-185

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Ivanovich Zhabskiy, chief of the Sector of the Methodology and Methods of Sociological Research of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Cinematography: "The Reliability of Sociological Measurements"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

#### OMISSION OF RESPONSES IN WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 185-189

[Article by Igor' Viktorovich Fedorov, junior research associate of the Sectorial Laboratory of Problems of Management and the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism of the Moscow Institute of Automobile Roads: "The Causes of the Omission of Responses in a Written Questionnaire"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

SOCIOLOGY ABROAD

'QUALITY OF LIFE' AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 190-193

[Article by Alexander Salai, Academician of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and president of the Hungarian Sociological Association: "'The Quality of Life' as a Sociological Category"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

SOCIOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE GDR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 193-198

[Article by R. Stolberg: "Sociological Education in the GDR"; translated from German by K. A. Shchadilova]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 199-203

[Article by Irina Anatol'yevna Butenko, graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Convergence of the Positivist and Phenomenological Orientations in the Sociology of Language"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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## SCIENTIFIC LIFE

### MEETING OF SOCIAL SCIENCES SECTION OF PRESIDIUM OF USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 204-206

[Article by G. A. Zaikina: "In the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] The results of the scientific organizing activity of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences during 1976-1981 were discussed at the meeting of the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was held on 4 February 1982. Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician P. N. Fedoseyev opened the meeting.

In delivering the report, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin, director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, covered the basic directions of the activity of the institute during the past 5-year period. Among the most important results of the work of the collective he singled out the large-scale comprehensive studies of the reading audience of the newspapers PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the all-union studies of the problems of the convergence of the working class and the intelligentsia, the development of the socialist way of life, the family and the social structure of the rural population. Close ties with party and soviet organs and with USSR Gosplan were established during the implementation of the indicated programs.

An important indicator of the effectiveness of the work of sociologists is the use of the results of studies in the practice of planning and management. A number of recommendations and suggestions, which were used when preparing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," the materials of the 26th party congress and documents aimed at the strengthening of the Soviet family, T. V. Ryabushkin noted, were elaborated at the institute.

Among the main directions of the further work of the institute T. V. Ryabushkin, on the basis of the decisions of the party congress, singled out the study of the processes of the convergence of classes and social groups, the features of the social development of regions, sociodemographic policy and the strengthening of the material and spiritual bases of the socialist way of life.

The speaker dwelt on some shortcomings and difficulties in the work of the Institute of Sociological Research. First of all, he emphasized, it is necessary to increase the level of theoretical generalizations. The most abundant factual

material, which requires thorough analysis, has now already been accumulated. However, it does not seem possible to accomplish this task completely by the forces of the institute alone: the assistance of other institutions of the Academy of Sciences, first of all the Institute of Economics, is needed. Further T. V. Ryabushkin emphasized: in spite of the fact that during the 5-year period significant changes, which had a positive effect on its activity, had occurred in the structure of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, for the present not all themes are yet provided with a sufficient number of specialists.

In conclusion the speaker noted that the conducting of large-scale studies presumes the solution of a number of organizational problems, particularly the problem of the creation of an all-union sociological service. This would make it possible to raise sociological research in the country to a higher level.

A thorough and comprehensive analysis of the work of the collective during the past 5 years was given in the speech of the cospeaker, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. N. Kudryavtsev, who headed the commission of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the checking of the activity of the Institute of Sociological Research. V. N. Kudryavtsev focused the main attention on still unsolved questions and made a number of critical remarks. First of all he indicated the fact that the institute had not completely fulfilled the tasks set for it by the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences: there has been no significant progress in the area of the elaboration of theoretical and methodological problems; the participation in the preparation of "The Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress of the USSR for 1986-2005 (by Five-Year Plans)" was not active enough; the work on the development of a system of social indicators has not been completed; the level of theoretical thought and the generalization of the vast empirical material is unsatisfactory. The reorganization of the structure of the institute was accomplished, but the latter still remains unwieldy and is not always effective. Sufficiently strong ties have not been set up between the different subdivisions.

A number of the remarks made by V. N. Kudryavtsev concerned the scientific methods and coordinating activity of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which is the leading sociological institution in the country. The contract between the institute and the Soviet Sociological Association, especially its regional departments, and plant sociologists remains inadequately strong. As in the past, too little methods literature is being published. The speaker also touched upon the problem of personnel and labor discipline and made a number of recommendations to the directors and the scientific council of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Then there was a discussion of the report. Academician A. G. Yegorov, Corresponding Member Ye. I. Kapustin, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Kh. N. Momdzhyan and Doctor of Economic Sciences I. I. Sigov spoke about the need to study the problems of the socioeconomic efficiency of physical production, the social aspects of labor productivity and the increase of the scientific soundness of the plans of economic and social development. Ye. I. Kapustin especially stressed the problem of studying the moral stimuli for labor.



In fulfilling the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, Academician A. G. Yegorov noted in his speech, it is necessary to focus attention on the unsolved questions. It is insufficient to compare the present state of social development with the already passed stages. It is necessary to compare the level of today's achievements with the long-range tasks of the building of communism. If we look at our sociology from this standpoint, it should be admitted that much has still not been done. For example, the urgency of the questions of the socioeconomic efficiency of production was quite correctly pointed out. But whereas research experience was gained in this area, indicators of social efficiency in practice have not been elaborated.

Having touched upon the theme of scientific developments, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. G. Kharchev noted that the basic directions of the research of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences have still not been properly thought out. As a result, themes are frequently duplicated even within the institute. So far the work on a uniform system of indicators and principles of the grouping of empirical material has not been completed, which is substantially complicating the work on the theoretical generalization of the results of research. It is also necessary to strive for greater problemativeness of research programs and, consequently, their practical return.

The need to increase the practical effectiveness of the developments of the institute was also emphasized in the speech of Kh. N. Momdzhyan. It is insufficient to establish that so many studies have been conducted--the results of this activity, which find expression in the implementation of specific suggestions of specialists, are important.

The speech of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Korobeynikov was devoted to the tasks facing sociologists in the matter of studying public opinion. He considers it necessary for the stepping up of the work in this area to create at the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences a center for the study of public opinion. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. S. Mansurov stressed the need for the interconnection of the studies of public opinion and ideological processes.

The discussion of the questions connected with the organization and coordination of the activity of Soviet sociologists revealed the common stand of the participants in the meeting with respect to the organization of sociological education in the country and the organization of an all-union sociological service. Moreover, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. G. Britvin noted, it is necessary to begin not with an all-union service, but with a regional service. Then, after adjusting its structure and taking the shortcomings into account, it is necessary to disseminate the experience extensively. As Academician A. G. Yegorov emphasized, the creation of a sociological service is an important condition, which could contribute to the raising of the activity of the institute to a qualitatively new level.

The need for the strengthening of the cooperation of scientists and plant sociologists and for procedural assistance to specialists working on the periphery was indicated in many speeches. This is especially important because, as in the past, the problem of the comparability of the data of the studies being conducted, which cannot be solved without model programs and methods, is urgent. Doctor of Juridical Sciences G. B. Starushenko cited a convincing example. The method of work according to the brigade contract is now being spread everywhere. However, during

its adoption one often has occasion to be faced with serious difficulties of a sociopsychological nature. Of course, it is necessary to study this problem, and with allowance made for the diverse conditions of specific works. But so far there is no model program of such a study.

Academician P. N. Fedoseyev delivered the concluding speech. While considering it possible to approve as a whole of the work of the Institute of Sociological Research during the 5-year period, he expressed the following opinion: the shortcomings in the activity of sociological institutions to a considerable extent are due to the fact that sociological science has still not been completely defined. Attention should be focused first of all on the elaboration of theoretical questions of sociology and the use of theory in research practice. The question of sociological education is also directly connected with this: a good textbook and a precise syllabus of the corresponding course at higher educational institutions are needed.

In speaking about the directions of the further work of sociologists, P. N. Fedoseyev indicated that the study of the social structure of society and of the movement of the latter in the direction of social homogeneity was and remains the central point. Moreover, the analysis of these processes should be specific and be based on the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. It is necessary to show the forms and the directions, in which the convergence of classes and social groups and of the population of different regions of the country will proceed. The problems of social planning and forecasting, and not only for the immediate period, but also for the future, are also acquiring greater and greater importance. The development of a comprehensive program of scientific and technical progress for 20 years and its updating during each new five-year plan should become one of the main components of this work.

At the stage of mature socialism, P. N. Fedoseyev emphasized, labor collectives hold an exceptional place in the system of production relations and in the entire life of the country. It is necessary to examine through them many problems of labor, communist education and the way of life, questions of both moral and material stimulation. The comprehensive study of labor collectives is a most important task of sociologists.

As to public opinion, the institute should elaborate such forms and methods of its study, so that on the basis of the obtained information it would be possible to provide recommendations and suggestions for party committees and state organs. Here one must not conduct the study of public opinion in accordance with the model of western institutions, only by means of surveys of the population. P. N. Fedoseyev also touched upon the problem of the creation of a sociological service, having indicated the need to define precisely the group of questions which will be under its jurisdiction.

A decree of the section, which specified the basic tasks of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the coming years, was adopted.

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CONFERENCE ON THE CITY AS THE SPHERE OF VITAL ACTIVITY OF MAN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 206-208

[Article by A. A. Matulenis and S. S. Rapoport: "The City as the Sphere of Vital Activity of Man"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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## CULTIVATION OF SOCIAL ACTIVENESS IN LABOR COLLECTIVES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 p 209

[Article by Yu. R. Vishnevskiy and V. T. Shapko: "The Labor Collective and the Cultivation of Social Activeness"]

[Text] The Applied Science Conference "The Enhancement of the Role of the Labor Collective in the Cultivation of Responsibility and an Active Position of the Individual in Life Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism" was held in Nizhniy Tagil on 25-26 December 1981 on the initiative of the city committee of the CPSU and the local department of the Soviet Sociological Association. Party, soviet, economic and Komsomol workers, engineers, workers, sociologists, economists and lawyers took part in it. A sociological study preceded this conference, just as the ones held earlier (in 1976 and 1977). In all, 1,330 workers of the 12 leading enterprises of the city were surveyed.

First Secretary of the City Party Committee N. A. Talalayev opened the plenary meeting. He emphasized that the very fact of the holding of such conferences attests to the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the cooperation of party organizations and social scientists in the study of social processes.

The essence of the responsibility of the individual under socialism, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor L. N. Kogan noted, can be correctly understood only in interconnection with the process of the development of socialist democracy. Social responsibility is the dialectical unity of the responsibility of a person to society, the collective and himself. In the opinion of the speaker, it functions as an integral component of the political, legal and moral culture of socialism.

The policy of the 26th CPSU Congress of intensifying the economy and increasing the level of management requires the maximum utilization of social reserves. In his report Secretary of the City Party Committee G. G. Azanov generalized the experience of the work of the city party organization on the cultivation among the workers of personal responsibility and initiative. He devoted the main attention to the problem of the interrelationship of responsibility with the content of labor and its social goals. The data of sociological studies and the practice of political educational work attest: the role of such factors as the "price" of the fulfillment of the plan and the orientation toward the end results and a high quality of labor is exceptionally great in the process of cultivating among people a demanding attitude to the matter. It is impossible to make the sense of responsibility today a character trait of a person without overcoming the formalism in



socialist competition and increasing the personal responsibility for the success of the entire collective, without the introduction of progressive forms of the organization of work and the extensive involvement of the workers in production management.

Five sections performed work within the conference. Such questions as the personal example of the economic manager in educational work, his cooperation with public organizations, the level of the pedagogical and sociopsychological training of production leaders and the influence of the type of manager on relations in the collective aroused the greatest interest. The question of the means and methods of introducing at the enterprises of the city the initiative of the workers of the Seversk Pipe Plant, which is aimed at increasing the collective moral and material responsibility for the state of labor discipline, produced a lively debate.

The cooperation of institutions of culture and labor collectives in the formation of the cultural needs of people was the theme of the discussion of another section. The speakers indicated the need to use more extensively active methods of the work of institutions of culture. Club days at the works, movie clubs, evenings of political and amateur singing and issues of the oral newspapers PROFESSIYA--GORDOST' MOYA were named among them.

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## CONFERENCE ON SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 210-211

[Article by T. N. Fedorchenko: "Socioeconomic Planning of the Development of the Labor Collective"]

[Text] The Applied Science Conference "The Procedural Principles of Drafting the Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the Association, Enterprise and Organization for the 11th Five-Year Plan" was held in Saratov. Party workers, executives of associations, enterprises, scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions, as well as sociologists of the oblast took part in it.

In opening the conference, Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor B. S. Ostrovskiy, director of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Honored Figure of Science of the RSFSR, noted that the plans of the social and economic development of production collectives to one extent or another touch upon a wide range of questions of the formation of the territorial agro-industrial complex, the nature conservation activity of agricultural enterprises and organizations, the use of manpower resources, the protection of health, the further training of personnel, the labor and daily life of young people and working women.

Questions of regional social planning were examined in the report of Candidate of Economic Sciences I. M. German, rector of the Saratov Institute of Economics, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. I. Mal'tsev. On the basis of the generalization of the 10 years of experience of drawing up social passports on the level of the microrayon, the rayon and the city, the speakers proposed an information planning model, which contains a system of indicators which are necessary for the drawing up of the social passport and the comprehensive plan of the social development of the collective.

The speech of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. A. Elizar'yev, senior research associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was devoted to the improvement of the methods of planning the economic and social development of the agricultural enterprise. While speaking about the need to overcome completely the gap between the theory of the socioeconomic development of society and socioeconomic planning, between the form of the plan and its content, he noted the important role of scientific institutions, which should not only elaborate the methods of socioeconomic planning, but also assist their practical use. The speaker proposed to organize

republic, kray and oblast scientific methods centers of socioeconomic planning, which could provide the necessary procedural assistance to production collectives.

Candidate of Economic Sciences S. N. Semenov, scientific secretary of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences, told about the results of a study of the reserves and factors of the increase of the effectiveness of comprehensive systems of the control of the quality of labor, which was conducted at 16 Saratov enterprises. The principles of the coordination of social planning within the enterprise with the external environment and the means of substantiating the indicators of the quality of the labor of collectives in the case of sectorial and territorial planning were examined.

The comprehensive plan of the socioeconomic development of the labor collective is usually compiled in close connection with the plans of the rayon, the city and the oblast. A systems approach to their drafting can be ensured in the presence of model structures of the plan, the standardization of the forms and indicators, the elaboration of a standard base, model methods, as well as the use of the instructions of Gosplan, which promote the assurance of the comparability of the plan and reporting indicators. Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. I. Trubitsyn (Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences) proposed a model structure of the plan and a diagram of its drafting.

Candidate of Economic Sciences A. F. Borodin (Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR Academy of Sciences) spoke about the sectorial and territorial approaches when compiling the plans of socioeconomic development. The speaker noted that the sectorial approach cannot guarantee the complete utilization and reproduction of the natural, economic and social potential, while the territorial approach is not capable of utilizing all the advantages of the division of labor, the specialization of production and the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Under the conditions of the intensification of production and the extension of integration processes the utmost enhancement of the role of local soviets contributes to the solution of the outlined problem.

A. V. Dushin, a staff member of one of the local production associations, devoted his speech to the experience of the elaboration of a system of indicators of the plan of social development, which was carried out according to the principle: the goal--the indicator--the measure aimed at the achievement of this indicator. It should be taken into account, the speaker noted, that only those indicators, which undergo the desired changes, are liable to monitoring, the rest serve as if as a background which characterizes the basic social processes taking place in the collective.

The need for the further standardization and improvement of the methods of economic and social planning was indicated in the recommendations adopted by the conference. For the purposes of coordinating the activity of sociologists it was proposed to publish the handbook "Sotsiologicheskiye sluzhby i tematika sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy v Saratovskoy oblasti" [The Sociological Services and the Themes of Sociological Research in Saratovskaya Oblast] and to introduce in the local press and on television the columns "Problems of Socioeconomic Planning" and "The Rostrum of the Sociologist." The conference outlined means of giving effective assistance to enterprises during their drafting of comprehensive plans of economic and social development.

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## SEMINAR FOR INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 211-212

[Article by G. A. Rumyantseva: "A Seminar of Sociologists of Industrial Enterprises"]

[Text] The Northwestern Department of the Soviet Sociological Association and the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences in December 1981 conducted a seminar devoted to questions of the improvement of the work of sociological services of enterprises and organizations. Doctor of Economic Sciences I. I. Sigov, director of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, opened the seminar. He noted, in particular, that Leningrad scientists have a significant scientific potential in the area of applied sociology, which must be used for the accomplishment of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress. The speaker cited examples of the fruitful cooperation of industrial sociologists and the representatives of scientific institutions. Thus, the sociological service of the Svetlana Association elaborated and adopted a set of measures, which made it possible to decrease the turnover of personnel to 5.2 percent. The study of the problems of the adaptation of young workers, which was carried out here by sociologists and psychologists of the Scientific Research Institute of Applied Sociological Research attached to Leningrad State University, made it possible to outline a set of measures aimed at the radical improvement of the work with young people. A textbook on sociopsychological problems of management, including the methods of resolving conflict situations, was prepared on the basis of the study of the interrelations in production brigades.

At the Kirovskiy zavod Association the adoption of a system of the intraplant transfer of personnel, which was developed by the sociological laboratory, made it possible to decrease the turnover of personnel from 12.9 to 8.8 percent. Much work on the introduction of the brigade form of the organization of labor with allowance made for the peculiarities of the technology and the composition of the brigades was conducted with the direct participation of sociologists of the association and staff members of the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics imeni N. A. Voznesenskiy.

The sociological services of the Elektrosila Plant, the Pozitron Association, the Leningrad State Institute for the Planning of Water Management and Reclamation Construction and other enterprises and organizations of the city are carrying out the elaboration of methods of evaluating the business and personal qualities of management personnel. The methods are then used in the formation of the reserve for



promotion and in measures on the selection, certification and improvement of the skills of engineers and technicians.

The standardization of the methods and the conducting of research according to a common plan, the creation of a uniform base of social information on the problems of labor and production and the increase of the overall skills of sociologists, the speaker indicated, are necessary for the further increase of the efficiency of the work of sociological services. He devoted particular attention to the questions connected with expediting the introduction of scientific research in practice.

Doctor of Economic Sciences G. N. Cherkasov, chairman of the Section of Sociologists of Labor Collectives of the Northwestern Department of the Soviet Sociological Association, reported that nearly 100 staff members of sociological services, the work of which is coordinated by the mentioned section, are presently working at enterprises and organizations of Leningrad. It has studied and disseminated the work experience of the sociological services of such enterprises as the Svetlana, Kirovskiy zavod and LOMO Associations and the Elektrosila Plant and has prepared a draft of the Statute on the Plant Sociological Service. The work experience of the section was the basis for the curriculum and syllabuses of the training of economist-sociologists at the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics, which were approved by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions. The speaker noted that the sociological services of industrial enterprises, which were set up on the initiative of the Leningrad party organization, in the past 15 years have given considerable assistance to the administration and public organizations in the matter of the development and improvement of comprehensive economic and social planning. However, the question of defining their status for the present remains unsolved. At many enterprises the sociological services are not structural subdivisions, their composition is defined arbitrarily by the administration, the rights and duties of plant sociologists are not clearly defined. In order to overcoming the shortcomings in the work of sociological services, in the opinion of the speaker, it is necessary to expedite the approval by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems of the Model Statute on the Sociological Service, which is uniform for all sectors, and to set up on the basis of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences a territorial coordinating center of the sociological services of enterprises, which could solve a number of ripe problems. Among them are: 1) the evaluation of the efficiency of the work of sociological services and the promotion of advanced know-how; 2) the organization of base services according to individual directions; 3) the promotion of the development and dissemination of advanced methods; 4) the coverage of the work of plant sociological services in the periodic press; 5) the assistance of the improvement of the skills of plant sociologists.

A. A. Glazunov, chairman of the Council for Sociological Research, which was set up in the party committee of the Leningrad Optical-Mechanical Association imeni V. I. Lenin, told about the main directions of the activity of the sociologists of the association: the introduction of new forms and methods of ideological work, the creation of a healthy sociopsychological climate in the labor collectives; participation in the solution of the problem of the turnover of personnel; the increase of the effectiveness of the measures elaborated on the basis of sociological studies.

A. F. Tyagushev, deputy director for personnel of the Svetlana Association, emphasized that the management and the party organization of the association are devoting

the closest attention to sociological studies and the use of their results in the work on the improvement of all spheres of the activity of the collective. The speaker named as one of the most important tasks the promotion of sociological knowledge in the collective and especially among the production managers and the formation among them of "sociological thinking." A. F. Tyagushev proposed to use plant newspapers and radio more extensively for this purpose.

V. S. Gorokhovskiy, N. S. Miroshnichenko, N. A. Orlov and V. V. Sinov, who are managers of the sociological services of enterprises and spoke at the seminar, spoke about the need to draft a Model Statute of the Sociological Service of the Enterprise and Association, to further the improvement of the skills of plant sociologists, to set up a methods coordinating center at the Institute of Socio-economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences and to standardize research methods.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. D. Parygin dwelt on such an essential aspect of the activity of the plant sociologist as the diagnosis of the sociopsychological climate of primary collectives. He noted that the experience gained in the Sector of Sociopsychological Problems of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences attests to the increasing importance of the improvement of the methodological and procedural levels of research.

O. G. Gobarov, manager of the group of sociologists of the Leningrad Planning Institute, and K. Ya. Shvetsov, chief of the Sector of Economic and Social Planning of the Krasnaya Zarya Scientific Production Association, proposed to elaborate a more precise definition of the comprehensive plan of the economic and social development of enterprises. The speakers indicated the need for the standardization of the methods of comprehensive planning and the establishment of a uniform form of the social passport of the enterprise.

The seminar participants discussed and approved a number of recommendations, in particular, they proposed to stipulate in the plans of applied research the stage of the adoption of developments with mandatory supervision by the author of sociologists during their adoption; it was suggested to the leading scientific centers that they step up the work on the standardization of the methods of applied sociological research and the means of the mathematical processing of the obtained materials.

It is planned to conduct the second seminar conference of plant sociologists with the participation of scientists, as well as the party aktiv and the managers of enterprises in 1982.

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## CONFERENCE ON THE MASS MEDIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 213-214

[Article by V. M. Chernikov: "The Theory and Practice of the Activity of the Mass Media"]

[Text] The Applied Science Conference "Problems of the Efficiency of the Means of Mass Information and Propaganda" was held in Minsk in November 1981. It was conducted on the initiative of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Belorussian State University imeni V. I. Lenin, the republic unions of journalists and the department of the Soviet Sociological Association.

Academician of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences V. A. Belyy, rector of the Belorussian State University, who told about the research in the area of the means of mass information and propaganda in the republic and dwelt on the urgent directions of their study, opened the conference.

The further increase of the efficiency of the press, television and radio, G. M. Konov, deputy chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, emphasized in his speech, today is of the greatest importance for the planned and purposeful regulation of social processes. This requires a systems, comprehensive approach to the organization of the means of mass information and propaganda. The principles of such an approach were formulated in the report of Corresponding Member of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences Ye. M. Babosov (Minsk). Among them, in particular, are: 1) the organization of the work of all the elements as a unified whole; 2) the determination and maximum utilization of the peculiarities of each of the means of ideological influence; 3) the precise organization of the "feedback" between the mass media and the audience; 4) aggressiveness, the active support of new progressive phenomena of public life, the control of their antipodes.

Continuing the discussion about the scientific principles of the work of the press, television and radio, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor G. P. Davidyuk (Minsk) dwelt on the problem of the classification of the ideal objects which constitute the heart of the special theory of the mass media. Among these objects two types are distinguished: "empirical" objects ("the newspaper page," "the length of the broadcast" and so on) and "theoretical" objects ("adherence to party principle," "the class content of information" and so on). The question of the essence and list of theoretical objects is the most controversial. In this connection the

speaker revealed the content of the concept "the efficiency of the mass media" and proposed to regard as its most important components such factors as topicality and reliability. They serve as criteria of the evaluation of the activity of the press, radio and television.

The efficiency of various means of ideological influence, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. C. Korobeynikov (Moscow) stressed, can be ensured only in case of their complementarity, but not their interchangeability. According to the data of sociological studies, in the late 1970's the total audience of the means of mass information and propaganda came to more than 98 percent of the adult population of the country. However, the size of the audience of each of the information channels is different. It is a question, consequently, of the specific nature of the place and role of the latter in ideological educational work and in the meeting of some needs or others of the population. Moreover, it is a matter of differentiating the channels of ideological influence on not only the structural, but also the territorial level.

The questions concerning the role of the means of mass information and propaganda in the formation of public opinion and an active position of the individual in life aroused great interest among the conference participants. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. M. Firsov (Leningrad) proposed a model of the consumption of information by people. This process, in his opinion, includes several stages, and each subsequent stage is called upon to ensure the deeper penetration of information into the consciousness of the consumer (recipient). In this case the opinions, convictions and aims of the individual act as a mediating factor. Consequently, the effectiveness of the contacts with information in many ways depends on the ability of the mass media to form public opinion on a most diverse group of questions.

Professor N. G. Yurkevich (Minsk) devoted his speech to the individual as the object of the influence of the means of mass information and propaganda. It is well known that the newspaper article, the television and radio broadcast yield an educational impact only when the ideas contained in them become an element of the actions, the acts of people. Consequently, the mass media are called upon not only to exert an active ideological influence on the workers, but also to direct the educational efforts of the managers of labor collectives, public organizations and propagandists. Such a statement of the question requires the selective input of information, the complementarity and coordination of publications and broadcasts with the plans of educational work of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

Professor Ye. M. Prokhorov (Minsk) touched upon very important problems of the activity of journalists. He correctly raised, in our opinion, the question of the illegitimacy of the identification of the concepts of the "efficiency" and the "effectiveness" of the means of mass information and propaganda, which is still encountered. These concepts are connected with the accomplishment of different tasks. Effectiveness is a characterization of the practical results from the point of view of the fulfillment of direct production and organizing functions. Efficiency should be regarded as an indicator of the achievement of ideological and political educational goals. The clear delimitation of these aspects of the activity of journalists will make it possible to utilize to the utmost the potentials of some means and channels of mass information or others and at the same time to work purposefully with different audiences.



Two sections: "The Indicators of the Efficiency of the Means of Mass Information and Propaganda" (G. I. Khmara, director) and "The Factors of the Efficiency of the Means of Mass Information and Propaganda" (Ye. P. Prokhorov, director), did work within the conference. Their participants examined the basic conceptual approaches to the efficiency of the press, television and radio, the methods and results of its study and the mechanism of feedback of the means of mass communications and the audience.

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## NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 214-215

[Article: "New Items"]

[Text] In 1981 a sociological group was set up in Dnepropetrovsk at the Institute of the Technical Education of Workers of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy. Its basic tasks are the procedural supervision of the drafting of the plans of the social development of collectives of ferrous metallurgy enterprises of the Ukraine, the monitoring of the implementation of these plans, as well as the preparation of sociological information for use in management activity. Moreover, the group is conducting studies of the problems of the stabilization of production collectives, labor discipline, the efficiency of the technical education of personnel, communist education and the organization of the free time of metallurgists. One of the main concerns of the group is the systematic improvement of the skills of industrial sociologists.

Ye. I. Fokin

An ideological center, within which an office of sociological research operates, has been set up in the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. Meetings of the Council for Sociological Research and classes of "The School of the Young Sociologist" are held at it. Representatives of the ideological aktiv and party, Komsomol and economic workers can obtain here skilled advice on questions of the organization of research and social planning and can acquaint themselves with the data of surveys of the population of the rayon.

G. S. Semenov

The Department of Sociological and Psychophysiological Research of the Siberian Branch of the Center for the Scientific Organization of Labor and Production Management of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry has drafted a plan of the economic and social development of the city of Usol'ye-Sibirskoye for the 11th Five-Year Plan. For this purpose a council for socioeconomic planning has been set up in the city party committee. The 13 working groups formed by the council studied the experience of other cities and determined the approximate structure of the plan. Then sociological information was collected by the method of surveys. A social passport of the city was drawn up on the basis of the obtained results. In final form the comprehensive plan of Usol'ye-Sibirskoye

has 11 sections. For each of them a brief analysis of the prospects of the socio-economic development of the city is given and tables of social indicators and a list of the measures being outlined are cited.

V. I. Lapshin, G. V. Kirzdyuk

A meeting of the editorial council for the preparation of the monograph "Molodezh' i vyssheye obrazovaniye" [Young People and Higher Education] was held at the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in December 1981. Among the authors are sociologists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The goal of the work is to summarize a study which was conducted for the first time in these countries according to a uniform program. The participants in the meeting discussed the manuscript of the future book and came to an agreement on the sequence and dates of its completion. The overall results of an international study conducted by Bulgarian scientists were also discussed. The next meeting of the editorial council, which examined the first version of the monograph, was held in Sofia in March 1982.

V. A. Malova

A meeting of students of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University and of graduate students and instructors of the Chair of Sociological Research with staff members of the editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA was held. V. A. Popov, responsible secretary of the journal, told about the current and long-range plans of the work of the editorial board. Then the participants in the meeting discussed the latest issues of the journal and expressed a number of wishes and critical remarks, which were aimed at the further improvement of the work of the editorial board.

O. I. Balandina

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## THOUGHTS ON A NEW BOOK

### ROLE OF RAYON COMMITTEE IN PARTY LEADERSHIP

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 216-219

[Review by Candidate of Historical Sciences Sergey Vladimirovich Kolesnikov, consultant of the Department of the Propaganda of Marxist-Leninist Theory of the editorial board of the newspaper PRAVDA, and Vladimir Ivanovich Usanov, special correspondent of the Department of the Propaganda of Marxist-Leninist Theory of the editorial board of the newspaper PRAVDA, of book "Voprosy teorii i praktiki politicheskogo rukovodstva. Opyt deyatel'nosti raykoma partii" [Problems of the Theory and Practice of Political Leadership. The Experience of the Activity of the Rayon Party Committee] by T. P. Arkhipova and V. F. Sbytov, Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 288 pages: "An Important Unit of Party Leadership"]

[Text] V. I. Lenin called one of the first attempts at the sociological description and analysis of the process of organizing life on a new, socialist basis in one of the uyezds of Russia "a small picture for the clarification of big questions." V. I. Lenin always devoted priority attention to the systematic consideration of the practical experience of local party organizations. In this he saw the basis for the formulation of the strategy and tactics of party leadership.

Our party has constantly pursued this Leninist policy. At the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that "the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee have constantly been concerned about the increase of the role and responsibility of the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations. The state of affairs locally was thoroughly studied, the reports of many party committees have been examined. Conclusions of partywide importance were drawn on the basis of a comprehensive, careful discussion." The more extensive party influence on the processes taking place in the social organism becomes, the farther the reorganization of social life on a collective basis, which is inherently characteristic of the new system, goes.

There is much that is valuable and instructive in the work of each party organization. The good results, which the communists of the capital achieved in the development of the creative activeness of productive collectives, as well as in the communist education of the working people, were noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. The book recently published by Politizdat helps to answer the question of how these results were achieved and how to reveal the mechanism of party leadership of economic, social and spiritual processes.



The subject of the study of the authors is the analysis of the work of the most important unit of party leadership--the rayon party committee. Precisely the rayon committee of the CPSU is the focal point of a large number of the most important problems of the leadership of the development of society. Here the aims of the party are defined concretely and translated into the language of practice, the unity of the theory and policy of the CPSU is achieved in reality. Every party committee has to solve a large number of questions connected with the further development of industrial production and the cultural and personal service of the population and with the achievement of social, ideological and moral goals. Thus, comprehensiveness and systemicity in the organization of work are a distinctive feature of the rayon unit of party leadership. The rayon party committee is obligated to see clearly the relationship of the problems being worked on with the policy of the party and the state, to grasp and distinguish the political significance of some processes or others of economic and social life and to be able to forecast and plan their development in its own rayon.

The importance of party leadership under the conditions of mature socialism consists in ensuring the purposeful, coordinated development of all the components of the social organism, in helping the individual to determine better his place in the building of communism and to see to it that the talent and abilities of everyone would yield the greatest result. The party, by giving freedom for the political, economic and spiritual activeness of the Soviet people, their representatives and organizations, links and coordinates the diverse specific interests of the different groups of the population with the interests of society. It is taking care that the small and smallest streams of everyday matters would harmoniously merge into a single mighty current. And the spirit of the book under review consists precisely in showing how the most important Leninist principle of the unity of political, economic and ideological leadership is being implemented on the level of the rayon.

The practical experience of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU of Moscow is studied in the book. Oktyabr'skiy Rayon (a population of more than 4 million) is one of the important industrial and scientific centers of the capital. The headquarters of Soviet science--the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences--and a large number of cultural institutions are located here. This is a unique model of the national economic structure, at the basis of which is the alliance of science and production.

How, specifically, is the leading and guiding role of the party implemented at the "rayon level"?

First of all this is manifested in the party leadership of the activity of the soviets and various public organizations. Here the party pursues its policy first of all through the communists working in them.

The experience of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU, it is noted in the book, shows that in the party leadership of the rayon soviet it is important to achieve the decisive influence of the rayon committee and the primary party organizations on the formation of a high quality staff of the soviet, its departments, administrations, economic subdivisions and numerous standing commissions. The bureau of the rayon of the CPSU conducts a constant search for more perfect forms of the joint work of party and soviet organs. Here is just one example which is typical in this sense. A united reception room, to which the workers address

complaints and suggestions, has been set up in the rayon. The reception room is furnished with information stands and a semi-automatic card file for the registration of visits and the monitoring of the review of the complaints and statements of citizens. Its work schedule has been set up so that daily every visitor would have the opportunity to meet with a responsible official of the rayon party committee or the executive committee of the rayon soviet at a time convenient for himself. All the received letters and statements are examined by members of the rayon committee and deputies of the rayon soviet.

During the Ninth, 10th and 11th Five-Year Plans the comprehensive plans of the economic and social development of the rayon became a mighty means of improving the coordination of the actions of the rayon soviet executive committee, the rayon party committee and other public organizations. The experience of drafting such a plan for the 10th Five-Year Plan is generalized in the book. A special scientific research group, which drew up a program of research, a model of the plan, the basic methods and analytic tables, was formed by a decision of the bureau of the rayon committee of the CPSU for the performance of this important work.

The authors of the book made an attempt to analyze the concept "social planning" on the basis of the concrete practice of compiling the comprehensive plans of the city rayon (p 68). Unfortunately, Arkhipova and Sbytov were not able to reveal completely the essence of this capacious term. But in itself the detailed analysis of the principles and methods of the drafting of plans of this type is of considerable theoretical and practical importance. The generalization by the authors of the experience of using sociological studies: public opinion polls, the study of statistical data and returns, the materials of economic, state and public organizations, the mathematical modeling of economic and social processes, is especially valuable.

As is known, various points of view on the questions of planning the development of the social organization of society on the level of the city (the city rayon) exist in the literature. Whereas previously the initiators of such planning frequently mechanically transferred the basic problems of the plan from the level of the enterprise to the level of the rayon, with the development of regional social planning the plans of the development of the city (rayon) acquired more thorough scientific substantiation [2].

The comprehensive plan drafted in Oktyabr'skiy Rayon of Moscow to a considerable extent is similar to the "classical model," the contours of which have been outlined more and more clearly in recent years. All the economic management, social, spiritual and ideological aspects of the life of the rayon are covered by this plan. Here are the main features of this plan.

In the area of the increase of production efficiency and labor productivity the attention is focused here on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the increase of the technical level and the improvement of the quality of products, specialization and the improvement of management. In the sociopolitical area the further development of the production and sociopolitical activity of the working people has been made in cornerstone; in the spiritual and ideological sphere--the formation among the people of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, their communist education on the basis of an individualized approach to the different categories of working people; in the area of social control--the utmost strengthening of public organizations of the working people, the study and dissemination of advanced

know-how of party leadership of social and ideological processes, the improvement of the monitoring and verification of fulfillment, the improvement of the selection, placement and training of personnel.

It is impossible to examine the problems of social planning separate from the questions of the combination of sectorial and territorial management, the precise definition of their functions, boundaries and potentials. In speaking about the social nature of the city, K. Marx noted that "here the whole is not simply the sum of its parts. It is a kind of independent organism" [1]. Therefore, territorial plans of economic and social development are an effective tool of the formation of the optimum proportions between the production and economic development of a region and the social programs which are aimed at meeting the needs of the population and the members of labor collectives. Precisely the local party organizations and the rayon party committees, which are free of "departmental" interests, are capable of ensuring the integrated functioning and development of all the components of the social organism of the city.

Party leadership of the comprehensive development of the rayon implies, in particular, the increase of party influence on local organs of power and administration and the stimulation of their activeness in the performance of monitoring and coordinating functions. The recently adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further Increase of the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Economic Construction" affords extensive opportunities for this. For example, the nature of the territorial plans of economic and social development is changing. Beginning with the rayon unit the indicators of the plans of associations (enterprises) and organizations of superior subordination will be included in them. These will be, of course, not all the indicators, but only those of them, which concern the use by the enterprise of territorial resources and its participation in the development of intersectorial ties and the social infrastructure of the region. Here, too, the rayon party committee can do much to step up the monitoring by the rayon soviet and its organs of the implementation of the plans mentioned above.

There should be grouped with the unquestionable merits of the book of Arkhipova and Sbytov the fact that in it the process of reorganizing ideological and political educational work in the rayon is shown and the role of sociological studies in obtaining objective information on its results is analyzed.

In this connection we would like to note one, in our opinion, fundamental principle. The 26th CPSU Congress advanced the demand to ensure the close unity of ideological, theoretical, political educational, organizing and economic work of the party. Success in the matter of education is ensured only when it rests on the firm basis of socioeconomic policy. However, economic activity is the foundation, the basis for the accomplishment of the tasks of forming the new man. Therefore, the use in scientific literature of the term "the ideological backing of economic construction," which is appropriate, perhaps, when drafting the plans of specific political measures, is not entirely correct methodologically. One must not limit the deep dialectical interrelationship of ideology and economics to the narrow framework of a pragmatic approach to the solution of the problems of ideological education.

The present stage of social development has made urgent the task of both the further enrichment of the currently existing forms and methods of work of party committees



and the search for new, nontraditional ones. The practical experience of the everyday management of the life of society frequently faces them with the need to promptly make thoroughly weighed, scientifically sound decisions. And here it is impossible to do without the constant and in-depth study of facts, the analysis of the formed situation and the prospects of its development. In other words, without direct observations, public opinion polls, the analysis of documents and statistical materials. All this, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, with each day is playing a greater and greater role in the solution of practical questions--political, production and educational. It is no accident that a separate chapter of the monograph under review is devoted to the examination of the experience of using sociological studies in the activity of the rayon party committee.

Sociological studies bar the way to subjectivism and make it possible to avoid intuitive conjectures, superficial, approximate estimates and libertarian recommendations. Using the information obtained by sociological methods, the party organizations analyze no long individual facts and phenomena, but their complete set, which characterizes comprehensively the problem being studied.

In the book it is noted that there are still instances when some party organizations and individual party executives look upon sociological studies negatively, considering them a burdensome matter and their return ineffective. Such an approach decreases considerably the effectiveness of party work. For intuition, as is known, is a poor adviser. When making any crucial decision one should now proceed not from arithmetic mean estimates, but from scientifically established facts.

At times the mistrust of sociological studies stems from deficiencies in their organization and conducting. At times isolation, a local nature and an inadequate connection with the tasks of the social and economic development of collectives and rayons are characteristic of them. It happens that the party committees, when turning to sociologists, do not set specific tasks for them, but limit themselves to vague requests: "study the general situation," "dig a little deeper" and so on. Some manager needs sociological studies only into order "not to fall behind the times," to gain the reputation of being a champion of scientific methods of management. But the low scientific methods level of studies and, as a consequence, the distorted information on real social processes do especially great harm to an important and necessary matter. In light of what was said above it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the experience generalized in the book of the work of the council for the study of public opinion and social development of labor collectives, which was set up in the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Party Committee. The authors reveal the structure of the council and cite in full the statute on it. In the monograph the plan of sociological studies and public opinion polls, which was drafted by the rayon committee, is analyzed in detail, it is shown that it touches upon the most vital problems of the life of the rayon. Here is a characteristic feature. The problem of intensifying the struggle of production collectives against antisocial phenomena was among the first problems studied here. In the obtained data--and this is especially important--there are no vague formulas, it is said that such a party organization is not working at full strength, while the work of another completely meets the requirements of the day. A clear and incontestable, in essence a quantitative-qualitative evaluation of the activity of collectives was present.



The working people are showing great interest in the improvement of the work on the identification, formation and use of public opinion. The overwhelming majority of those surveyed support the mandatory notification of the population about the steps, which are taken after the study of public opinion, and making strictly accountable those who ignore the results of sociological studies.

In party work it is difficult to give preference to any one method of studying social processes, it is necessary to use the entire set of existing methods. Their choice is determined each time by the features of the object being studied. Having expressed this correct idea, the authors, nevertheless, cause some terminological confusion, placing an equal sign between the concept "social studies" and sociological studies (p 254). It is more correct, in our opinion, to identify "social studies" with the concept "the study of social reality." The latter should be studied by different, including sociological, methods.

Difficult and large-scale problems, which it is impossible to solve without the extensive use of the achievements of science and the study and generalization of the experience of the masses, face party organizations during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The experience of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU, which was analyzed in the book, once again convincingly attests that the effectiveness of party leadership depends first of all on the development and strengthening of the scientific, Leninist style in the work of party committees.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF LARGE CITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 220-221

[Review by I. S. Dreytser of book "Demograficheskiye problemy i perspektivy bol'shikh gorodov" [Demographic Problems and Prospects of Large Cities] by E. S. Demidenko, Statistika, Moscow, 1980, 231 pages]

[Text] The rapid growth of cities is a characteristic regularity of current world development. Various aspects of the theory of urbanization have been elaborated quite intensively since the late 1960's, but many of its key questions still need scientific interpretation.

In analyzing the process of urbanization, E. S. Demidenko introduces in scientific circulation the concept of the physical-spatial organization of a historically defined type of society. In its scope it is broader than the traditional term "settlement," since it is a question of the interconnected arrangement of "the world of people" and "the world of things." This aspect of the organization of society, in the opinion of E. S. Demidenko, exists alongside such aspects as the socioeconomic, state and other aspects, and includes the two most important spheres of the social organization of the life of people--the spatial-territorial and the architectural-technical spheres.

The author sets an interesting and practically promising task: the interpretation of the physical-spatial organization of society, which is the physical components of the social system which are constructed in a specific manner and in a specific form and create favorable conditions for its development.

The criteria of the evaluation of the basic features and directions of urbanization under the conditions of mature socialism, which are used in the work, are notable for definite novelty. They are discussed in a special section of the monograph, and here, in our opinion, the author's analysis of the interrelations of the social factors of urbanization and the scientific and technical revolution merits attention. These interrelations, in the opinion of Demidenko, affect the most profound social class changes of society and create specific living conditions for different social groups. The thoughts about the city as the basic unit of urbanization are also perceived as quite fundamental in the context in question. The author's attention is focused primarily on the comprehensiveness and harmoniousness of the development of cities and the problem of the optimum (in the size of the population) socialist city. Let us recall that although many studies have been devoted to this theme, not one of the indicated questions can be considered thoroughly

elaborated. Unfortunately, Demidenko confined himself merely to a synopsis of the different points of view, and therefore the conclusions, which he comes to, for all their unquestionable correctness are well known.

The present forms and methods of the management of the process of urbanization became the subject of a detailed discussion in the work. The goal of this management, it is noted in the book, reduces first of all to the creation of favorable conditions for the labor and life of the population and, in the final analysis, of such a social and physical environment, in which society and the individual would develop harmoniously (p 183). It should be emphasized: this task is in keeping with the aim at the equalization of the standard of living and at the assurance everywhere of economic, social and ecological conditions which are relatively equal in quality.

In the monograph the means of planned influence on urbanization are analyzed in detail, various types of urban and regional planning are examined. The considerable difficulties in elaborating these problems, the author stresses, are connected with the regrettable fact that cities in their overwhelming majority are not objects of national economic planning, and this, of course, affects the harmoniousness of their development. The departmental nature of housing, municipal, as well as socio-cultural construction predetermines the chaotic nature and incompleteness of development. The notorious lag of the "rears" and the underdeveloped state of the social infrastructure, especially in regions of new development, are one of the consequences of such incompleteness and a result of the departmental solution of territorial problems. While attracting attention to these costs of the organization of the economy, Demidenko, in our opinion, correctly sees their source in a certain isolation of economic and sociological sciences, which study different aspects of urbanization.

In the considerable work on the planned management of urbanization, which is being performed in the country, forecasting is acquiring particular importance (and the monograph makes this felt). Reliable "projections for the future" and a clear idea of the means of developing the physical-spatial organization of society are needed. The monograph in question can also be useful in this respect: in it some studies oriented toward the future are analyzed, it is shown what sociology, urban studies and a number of fields of knowledge, which are related to them, have at their disposal.

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## MASS MEDIA IN THE SOVIET INDUSTRIAL CITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 221-222

[Review by Yu. A. Sherkovin of book "Massovaya informatsiya v sovetskom promyshlennom gorode. Opyt kompleknogo sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya" [Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City. An Attempt at a Comprehensive Sociological Study], under the general editorship of B. A. Grushin and L. A. Onikov, Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 446 pages]

[Text] In recent years significant changes have occurred in the theoretical elaboration of sociological problems of the activity of the mass media. These themes are more and more often in the purview of Soviet scientists. A number of recently published monographs is evidence of this. The book under review stands out among them for the thoroughness and breadth of coverage of urgent social phenomena. The result of a years-long comprehensive study, which was conducted within the framework of the project "Public Opinion," is summarized here. The monograph can be boldly characterized as a response in deed to one of the most important requirements formulated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work": to analyze thoroughly the life of society, to substantiate scientifically the recommendations on the further improvement of all the forms and methods of communist propaganda.

The authors were able to look in a new way at many aspects of the problem being studied. The originality, even the controversial nature of several approaches and points of view force the reader to think about individual, as yet not thoroughly studied phenomena of public consciousness, its dynamics, its structural elements and their interaction.

Being the organizers and implementers of the research project, the authors set themselves a very topical two-in-one goal: to determine new means of increasing of the efficiency of the ideological work of the mass media, as well as to identify the possibilities of enlarging and improving the mechanisms of the enlistment of workers in the management of the economic and social development of society. And it should be noted at once that the collective of authors was able to solve successfully this by no means simple problem. Reliable data on the laws of the functioning of public opinion under the conditions of socialism, on the information activity of the organs of social control of the typical medium-sized industrial city and on the information relations arising as a result of such activity were collected.



In the foreword B. A. Grushin and L. A. Onikov correctly note two features which determine the nature and results of the performed work. First of all there is the impressiveness of the scale of the project "Public Opinion," in conformity with which a collective of scientists of various specialties conducted 76 relatively independent and at the same time logically connected studies, which were devoted to the most complicated system of the generation and consumption of social information. The second feature consists in the inadequate study of the subject, which predetermined the pioneering nature of the entire study. The lack of similar experience in domestic and foreign sociology dictated the need to formulate for the first time the strategy and tactics of the scientific research and to outline the starting points and structure of the analysis, its object, the methods and the necessary restrictions.

I would also like to note a third feature of the performed work, which is not named in the foreword--the fundamental academic nature and the universality of the analysis. It would be no exaggeration if one were to say that it is possible to use without significant changes the general diagram of the breakdown of the object of the study, which was developed by the authors of the book, and the identified specific nature of the functioning of the mass media and oral propaganda in the theoretical analysis of information activity in a large city, in an economic region and even in the country. Moreover, data, which are very valuable for the practice of the planning of measures on the systematic and complete information of the population for the purpose of overcoming false rumors and successfully rebuffing hostile propagandistic actions and attempts to instill in the consciousness of the Soviet people views and convictions alien to them, are cited in the monograph.

As was already noted above, very much in this interesting book was done for the first time. For example, in special literature practically all the aspects of the means of mass information and propaganda were never before examined with such thoroughness, the means of transmitting the information necessary for social control were never revealed and, finally, the process of the consumption of information by the audiences of newspapers, radio, television and political education were never analyzed in such detail.

Let us stress another important thing. The practical implementation of the project "Public Opinion" required to a considerable extent a new conceptual apparatus, since there was simply no special terminology for the characterization of many phenomena. The methods of obtaining the data characterizing mass information processes in many ways were also elaborated anew.

Logical symmetry distinguishes the book. The principle used by the authors of breaking the complex subject down into elements and the identification of their "horizontal" and "vertical" connections and the causes and effects, which arise on this basis, make it possible to unite what would seem to be isolated facts into a unified system.

In the monograph it is difficult to single out parts which were written better or worse. It is unquestionable, however, that the final, fifth chapter, which is devoted to the analysis of the activity of the population on the generation of mass information, will arouse the greatest interest. This activity, which satisfies one of the most important needs of man for contact and involvement in political life, is also being examined for the first time in such detail in scientific literature.

In conclusion let us note several shortcomings of the monograph. The main one is the complexity of the language, which may decrease the number of readers and complicate the use of the book by experienced workers. Moreover, the interpretation of the concept "management" [upravleniye] does not seem entirely correct. The authors assign to the organs of management a number of organizations which engage in management in the narrow professional sphere, but not at all in the ideological, cultural and political sphere.

In short, there are individual shortcomings and a number of purely editorial errors in the book. As a whole the collective of authors was able to create a unified methodological and procedural platform for the study of the system of the means of ideological influence.

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## EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 222-224

[Review by O. A. Afanas'yeva and L. G. Gaft of book "The Educational System and Social Structure," edited by (J. Ferge) and D. Varnai, Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Budapest, 1980, 240 pages]

[Text] This collection is the result of the first stage of the research activity of the working group "Education and Social Structure in Socialist Society," as well as the problem commission of multilateral cooperation of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting."

In our country there is considerable experience in sociological studies which are devoted to the interaction of education and the social structure of Soviet society [1-3]. The examination of this problem is continued in the collection under review. Its authors are sociologists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The main problem, which they are working on, is the place of educational factors in the social changes which are occurring in the socialist countries.

The main forms of the influence of the educational system on the change of the social structure: the increase of the levels of the general and vocational education of different classes, groups and strata; the equalization of the chances for each member of socialist society to obtain an education regardless of his social origin and sex, are analyzed in the articles of A. Matejovsky (CSSR) and A. Meyer (GDR).

In spite of the steady trend of the emergence of social equality in obtaining an education, there are some contradictions in the realization of this possibility. The educational system at present does not rule out the reproduction of existing social differences. As the sociological studies conducted in the GDR show, a significant portion of the graduates of secondary general educational and vocational and technical schools reinforce the classes and strata of society, to which their parents belong. The analysis of the socio-occupational orientation of young people in Czechoslovakia and Hungary also attests to such a trend. However, A. Meyer correctly notes, "one must not identify this process with the reproduction of antagonistic class contradictions and the blunt social inequality which exists under capitalism" (p 131). The contradictory influences of the socialist educational

system on the social structure stem from "the trends of integration and differentiation in the very development of the social structure and express the fact that the educational system is determined materially by them" (p 132).

Much attention in the collection is devoted to the processes of the social mobility of young people: the main directions, channels, causes and consequences. As is stated in the articles of (J. Ferge) and (F. Gazho) (Hungary) "The Basic Social Functions of the Modern Hungarian Educational System and Some Problems Connected With the Performance of These Functions" and of (M. Chako) and (I. Lishko) (Hungary) "The Training of Skilled Workers and Social Mobility," a feature of the study of the indicated process is the broadening of its time frame. The authors examine the transfers of the respondent beginning at the age of 16, as well as the role of secondary schools and vocational educational institutions in these transfers. They raise the question of the correlation of general and vocational knowledge, about the most expedient and urgent methods of vocational training in the secondary school, the vocational and technical school, courses and so on.

The correlation of the general educational and vocational training of young people is examined in detail in the articles of F. R. Filippov (USSR) "Social Aspects of the Cooperation of General and Vocational Education in the USSR," A. V. Kirkh (USSR) "Social Determination of the Composition of the Main Detachments of Students," I. Venedikov (Bulgaria) "The Labor Realization of Young People," as well as in the above-mentioned articles of (J. Ferge) and (F. Gazho), (M. Chako) and (I. Lishko). The authors interpret this problem ambiguously, but they all come to the conclusion that the problem of the successful combination of vocational education and the further development of the individual faces the educational system in the socialist countries. They indicate that the sociological analysis of the role of education is closely connected with the problems of educating the young generation.

The mechanisms regulating the emergence of specific types of social behavior of the individual are studied in the articles of (D. Gol'da), J. Munk and A. Matejovsky "Sociological Studies of the Educational System in the CSSR" and H.-M. Nickel and J. Steiner (GDR) "Family Origin and Progress in School." One of these regulators is the family, which cultivates in children social experience, creating specific conditions of vital activity and forming value orientations. The characteristics of the family, which influence these processes, are divided by the researchers into objective characteristics (the material and spiritual living conditions of the family, the structure and types of organization of the family life style and so on) and subjective characteristics (the value orientations of the family members, their participation in public activity, the family microclimate and so on).

The article of Z. T. Golenkova (USSR) "Sociological Problems of Higher Education in the European Socialist Countries," in which the general laws of the development of higher education during the postwar period are analyzed, is of considerable interest. On the basis of numerous statistical materials and data of sociological studies the author convincingly shows that the general traits in the development of higher education in the socialist countries concern first of all the change of the level and structure of education, the acceleration of the growth rate of the number of highly skilled specialists and the increase of the number of technical specialties. At the same time the means of solving many problems reflect the specific nature which stems from the traditions of the individual countries.



Not all of the questions of the interaction of the social structure, education, the family and the individual are examined by the authors; for example, there are no references to the comparative sociological studies which were conducted according to a uniform program. However, as a whole the book shows that international co-operation, when scientists of different countries make their own contribution to the elaboration of a common problem, is very promising and merits further development.

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## HIGHER SCHOOL AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MATURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 224-225

[Review by A. V. Kinsburskiy of book "Vysshaya shkola i sotsial'naya struktura razvitiya sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Higher School and the Social Structure of Mature Socialist Society], M. Ye. Ashmane, editor in chief, Zinatne, Riga, 1981, 200 pages]

[Text] Empirical studies of the influence of the higher school on the social structure of mature socialist society have a tradition of many years. They began to be conducted for the first time in the early 1960's in Siberia and the Urals [1]. The all-union study "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitiya sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Higher School as a Factor of the Change of the Social Structure of Mature Socialist Society] [2] was a significant stage in the study of this problem. The surveys of students of day higher educational institutions made it possible to reveal the new trends of the formation of social homogeneity.

In the late 1970's an international comparative study was conducted in the fraternal socialist countries according to a similar program [3]. At present the processing and analysis of the results of the survey for the most part have been completed, the preparation of a joint international monograph is being carried out.

The results of the study of students of the Latvian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR and the Estonian SSR, which was conducted within the Soviet section of the international project, are generalized in the book under review. The authors substantiate the conclusion about the enlargement of the social sources of the reinforcement of the intelligentsia and its individual detachments (M. Ye. Ashmane). At the same time at higher educational institutions of different types this process for the present is not taking place uniformly. The prerequisites of this lack of uniformity exist already at the level of secondary educational institutions (A. A. Matulenis). The social composition of the students at the higher educational institutions, which train specialists for the sectors of physical production, is more optimal (A. V. Kirkh, R. N. Veerman).

The higher school is playing an important role in the development of the social activeness of the new reinforcement of the intelligentsia. At the same time some contradiction between the level of development of the occupational and sociopolitical activeness of students is noted in the book (V. V. Men'shikov). In this case married students display greater activeness in scientific and sociopolitical work

and culture activity and display more mature views of life. I. E. Trapentsiyere draws the conclusion that "getting married, all other things being equal, beneficially affects the level of development of the needs of students" (p 91).

The value orientations of those surveyed form for the most part before enrolling in a higher educational institution and are retained during the entire period of education (V. V. Cherednichenko). The relative contradictoriness of the value notions of young people is also established here. For example, a sufficiently developed orientation toward a higher education as a means of the all-round development of the individual is not supported by the really formed arrangements for its practical realization (B. A. Zepa). The orientation of students toward the labor of a manager is also weakly expressed. In their conception the management of a collective has little connection with the specialty being acquired at the higher educational institution (V. I. Dayneko).

The main conclusions, to which the authors of the collective come, as a whole coincide with the results of the all-union study. At the same time the collective contains conclusions which reveal the unsolved questions of the methodology and methods of comparative studies of both the intra-union and the international level.

In the opinion of M. Kh. Titma and P. O. Kenkmann, the logic of the content analysis of the influence of higher education on the social structure should include the following things: 1) the characterization of the social structure of the region and the influence of the higher school on it (according to the data of statistics); 2) the analysis of the social composition of the students of higher educational institutions and their socio-occupational orientations (according to the data of a survey); 3) sociodemographic data on the main detachments of students, the indicators of their social activeness; 4) the main trends of the reproduction of the intelligentsia, the changes of its quantitative proportions and qualitative characteristics; 5) the evaluation of the methods of gathering data and the representativeness of the sample. The main principles of the processing of the materials of the study were formulated in conformity with the indicated assumptions (M. Kh. Titma, E. A. Saar). It should especially be noted that more than half of the collective of authors is made up of young scientists--staff members of the academic institutes and higher educational institutions of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, who thus received an opportunity to participate directly in the theoretical analysis of the results of a large-scale sociological study.

Unfortunately, the interested reader will not find in the collection a comparative and general analysis of the data with respect to the Soviet Baltic republics as a whole and a comparison with the results of the all-union study of the early 1970's. There is also carelessness in the selection of the bibliographical material. However, as a whole the book will unquestionably be read with interest by specialists.

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#### PROBLEM OF THE EXPERIMENT IN THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC PRACTICE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 225-226

[Review by A. A. Voronin and A. R. Pozner of book "Problem eksperimenta v sisteme obshchestvennoy praktiki" [The Problem of the Experiment in the System of Social Practice] by A. P. Kuprijan, Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 168 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

#### POLITICIZATION OF MASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 226-228

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Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 231-232

[Review by Ye. D. Samkova of book "Religiya i sotsial'nyye konflikty v SShA" [Religion and Social Conflicts in the United States] by D. Ye. Furman, Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 256 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 82 pp 232-234

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